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No 7, 1 April 1990

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Train Builders and Successors for the Socialist Cause

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[Article by Li Tieying (2621 6993 2503)]

[Text] The New Year is now over. The State Education Commission is holding its first work conference of the 1990's. The focus of the conference is to find out how to improve ideology, political education, and elementary education. I have four points to make.

I. Sum Up Our Experiences and Continue To Proceed With Enthusiasm

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our national education system has gone through a decade of development and change. Through our practical work we have achieved a lot and accumulated many rich experiences. But we have also made mistakes. And we are facing many difficulties and problems. I will now discuss our basic experience in education during the last decade.

First, we must give priority to the development of education; education should be of strategic importance in the making of a socialist economy. The party Central Committee has come to the important conclusion that our economic construction should move toward more dependence on technological advancement and on better qualified workers. This is a significant development in economic guidance given by the party. This guidance is a scientific conclusion based on both the positive and negative experiences in our economic construction. It supplements the policy of "education must serve socialist construction and socialist construction must depend on education." The party vigorously promotes national education and stands firmly on the policy of giving priority and strategic importance to the development of education. The scope of education development is restricted by the development of our economy. Education, however, is the foundation of economic construction and social development. When we deal with the relationship between education and economic development, we must make sure that the development of education and the economy are coordinated. At times, education development may precede others. Even when there are temporary difficulties in the economy, education development must be safeguarded. We will restrain ourselves in other areas, or even sacrifice the speed of economic construction, but we must increase our investment in education. Government offices should include education in their plans for local economic construction and social development. Top officials of the party and the government should be personally involved in education development, making it work for socialist construction.

Second, the party must preside over educational organizations and we must uphold the path of socialism. We insist on teaching our students Marxism-Leninism-Mao

Zedong Thought. Staying on the correct political course is the number-one job in education, and the fundamental responsibility of our schools is to train socialist builders and successors. This is the fundamental difference between socialist and capitalist education. If we stray from this principle, we will be wrong in history and in orientation and eventually have to pay a heavy price. We learn from both history and fact that schools, especially institutes of higher education, are the major places that counter-socialist powers from within and outside the country try to infiltrate. The four basic principles and bourgeois liberalization are in conflict with each other. The struggle to win over the younger generation never ends. Education should never stray from the socialist path. We have explicit guidance on this issue and yet we do not understand it well enough. We have not considered from the start that the priority in education is to train socialist builders and successors. We have not been effective nor have we worked enough in implementing this policy. There were errors. We should examine ourselves honestly, learn from our experience, and guide our schools toward the correct path.

Third, education is to serve socialist construction, and education must combine with productive labor. Comrade Deng Xiaoping points out, "Education must adapt to the demand of national economic development." "After the proletariat obtains political power, education is the only way to train new people who will combine theory and practice, knowledge and application, and who will have a well-rounded development. This an important step which will gradually eliminate the differences between mental and manual labor." The education system in our country is a socialist one and must operate for socialist construction. Therefore, we need to free ourselves from our traditional bonds and adapt education to the needs of economic and social development. Education can play an important role in building the two civilizations. Combining education and productive labor is an important theory in Marxism-Leninism. This theory is meaningful because it provides students with moral, intellectual, physical, aesthetic, and manual training; it promotes relationships among intellectuals, workers, and peasants. Implement this theory because it will keep the education system for straying too far from reality and thus education will better serve socialist construction. When we try to combine education and productive labor in this new era, we must look at characteristics of the different grades and kinds of schools and explore and formulate practical methods and forms.

Fourth, our education needs to be reformed and it needs to be open. The reform of our political and economic systems is proceeding gradually. The new technology revolution has developed quickly in the world. Our education system faces a social environment that has changed a lot. If we want education to meet the needs of economic construction and social development, we must set a strategy to help the education system so that it can cope with modernization, the world, and the future. We must reform the ideology, system, and structure of

education. We need to change the syllabus and teaching methods. The socialist education system can develop and perfect itself through reform, because reform can help us implement the party's education policy and raise the quality of education so that it can better serve socialist construction. With reform and the open policy, we should have more international educational exchanges and cooperation. We can absorb useful experiences from foreign countries and learn their best qualities, but, before any such action is taken, we should first consider the conditions in China. Education should always stay on the socialist course; "complete Westernization" will not be allowed. We also have to inherit and make good use of our excellent educational and cultural traditions. Experiences accumulated in the past should not now be forgotten. Education reform should follow the characteristics and law of our education system and its reform should function as a partner to other kinds of reform.

Fifth, we should always develop and reform education according to the conditions of our nation. Because of China's large population and vast land area, the nation is not evenly developed. Therefore, education development must occur in relation to regional situations. We should make allowances for the differences between cities and villages, between the coast and inland areas, and among the various nationalities. We should formulate different plans for different places and districts and provide them with different guidance. We should not make "one-size-fits-all" decisions. We need to have united policies, measures, and basic requirements for education, but we also need to have variety based on regional differences. We have learned a lot from our recent experiences. Take nine-year compulsory education for example: We insist on step-by-step implementation and work out schemes that will fit different regions at different stages. We can always depend on the people to take care of their educational needs. We learned this important lesson from developing an education system that fits into our national environment. Each region is now responsible for administering its elementary education and schooling. This experience and the reform tell us that the masses have great potential and initiative when it comes to education development. As long as we give people a good education and make education meet the people's needs, schools will attract more financial and material support. This will, in turn, help the schools better adapt to local economic and social development. We can generate more enthusiasm from the students, parents, and society, and the development of education will be vastly expanded.

According to the general plan by the party Central Committee and the State Council, during the next few years, people on the education front will be responsible for two things; first, to correct the errors made during the last decade. We need to strengthen political and ideological education in all schools and maintain political stability. The other responsibility is to thoroughly carry out the policy decided by the Fifth Plenary Session of the

13th CPC Central Committee; this policy tells us to go forward with rectification, reorganization, and reform. We should promote education and we will continue to coordinate its development and work hard to improve its quality.

The five points mentioned above come from basic experiences. These experiences provide useful guidance for our rectification and reorganization. They provide guidance in maintaining stability and reforming and expanding education. I hope to see more enriching experience and progress.

II. Strengthen Ideological and Political Education, Uphold the Socialist Course, Train People To Build Socialism, and Cultivate Socialist Successors

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the biggest error made during the last decade was in the area of education. Political and ideological work was slighted and development in education was insufficient. This statement is not meant only for school education, it touches upon the weakness of our system. Our comrades who are on the education front should think this point over.

On this new historical occasion, people who are on the education front line must work hard to ensure that the purpose of education is socialist modernization. We want education to combine with productive labor. The education system must produce people who are morally, intellectually, physically, aesthetically, and manually up to standard. They must be socialist builders and successors. We must correct the past errors of ignoring and weakening ideological and political training at school. A person must be both moral and capable. He must be Red and also expert. These are the standards for deciding whether a person is qualified or not. The standard required of a school is that it should uphold the education policy all the way and elevate the quality of education in all areas. The priority for schools is to improve ideological and political education and to help students be strong and stay on the correct political path.

Every educator must have a clear understanding that the characteristic of education is class consciousness. Who should be trained and for what purpose? This has always been the basic issue in education. There is no doubt that we should educate and train people to become socialist builders and successors. The turmoil and counterrevolutionary riot which occurred last spring and summer have taught us a good lesson. It is a warning bell to remind us that we must look at this basic issue again.

We, as educators, must clearly understand that class struggles inside and outside our nation will always be reflected in schools. Since the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's, the international hostile powers have been working out their plan of "peaceful evolution." They have never given up their desire to topple communist leadership, overthrow the socialist system, and turn socialist countries into the dependents of Western capitalist countries. By various means they

spread their Western political models, economic models, value systems, and decadent lifestyles into our society. Although class struggle is not the major conflict in this new historical era, it does exist permanently in certain circles and can become very intense under certain circumstances. A small minority of stubborn people in our country respond to the international hostile powers and echo the theme of "peaceful evolution." They are enthusiastic in their advocacy of bourgeois liberalization and in their fight against the four basic principles. This fact tells us that the struggles between infiltration and counterinfiltration, subversion and countersubversion, and "peaceful evolution" and "counter-peaceful evolution" will continue for a long time. When we are struggling against the hostile powers inside and outside our country, our schools are not calm paradises but crucial battlefields for these intense struggles. The effect of bourgeois liberalization in schools and education manifests itself mainly in the refusal to accept the party's leadership in education, the elimination of ideological and political education, the denial of the existence of class nature in education, and the refusal to recognize that the purpose of education is to build socialist modernization. We should never underestimate the influence of capitalist "peaceful evolution," the trend of bourgeois liberalization thought in the nation, and the effect of all the changes happening internationally. Neither should we underestimate the effect of a former major leader in the party, who sought in the past to weaken party leadership and structure and to demean ideological and political work. Therefore, we must keep our heads clear and be highly alert. We must work vigorously to improve ideological and political education and actually give it priority treatment in our school work.

The strengthening of ideological and political teaching in schools is a meaningful job and has both realistic and historical significance. First of all, there is the question of whether there will be anyone to take over the job started by our proletarian revolutionaries from the older generation. This question will be decided by whether or not we can train and produce one generation after another of successors to the proletarian revolution. Every one of our educators should understand the historical responsibilities on their shoulders. As to how to improve ideological and political education in schools, I have a few suggestions.

First, teaching the basic theory of Marxism should be the most obvious choice. Marxism is the theoretical foundation that guides our thoughts and our actions. Marxism was born in struggle and in practice. It has been developed and improved by past struggle and practice. To treat Marxism as an unchangeable dogma is wrong, but to think that Marxism is outdated is also wrong. For a while, the teaching of Marxism has been ignored or loosened up. We must now renew this learning. We have to guide teachers and students, particularly those in universities, to study Marxism more carefully. They will eventually get a grip of basic Marxist theories, positions, viewpoints, and methods. Universities and research

institutes need to work hard to build a team of strong and combat effective Marxist theorists. These theorists will be the defenders and developers of Marxism.

Scientific socialist theory is an important part of Marxism. The socialist system has been established, consolidated, and developed in our country. This is inevitable in social development. It is also historically the only choice for our people after they have gone through all the detours and overcome all the difficulties. We have had many problems, but they are not the problems of the socialist system itself and they can eventually be solved through reform. The socialist system will continue to develop and improve. The history of the 40 years of New China is the best proof of this. It shows that the establishment of socialism has opened the road for us to an ideal state. The continuous improvement and development of the socialist system will no doubt cause the Chinese race to thrive and be prosperous. Only socialism can save China and only socialism can develop China. Therefore, every kind of school should expand its teachings of scientific socialism. We should explain the reactionary viewpoints of the bourgeois liberals to help teachers and students who are puzzled by socialism. We should explain difficult issues in a simple but lively manner to help clear up the doubts that teachers and students may have. Students and teachers will become firm believers in socialism and concentrate their energy on working for socialist modernization.

The theory of the proletarian political party is also an important component of Marxism. The CPC is a proletarian political party equipped with Marxism. It is the mainstream of the Chinese revolution. It is the force and the core providing us with the leadership we need in our work. Our party has made errors in the past. The CPC is not only brave enough to pursue the truth of Marxism, but it can also correct its mistakes with its own energy. Both history and facts prove that the CPC is a great, glorious, and correct party. All schools, especially universities, need to teach about party leadership. The schools should organize teachers and students to study the founding theory of the party. Schools should help these people understand the characteristics, principles, status, and role of the party. This way, they will love the CPC more and conscientiously obey the party's leadership.

Before we teach Marxism, we must appraise the situation and the characteristics of the students and the teaching staff. There should be different methods and emphases for different situations and individuals. All schools should have a teaching program devoted to revolutionary tradition, patriotism, collectivism, self-reliance, and arduous struggle. We have to teach about the legal system and communist viewpoints of moral character and revolutionary ideals. We should criticize anarchism and extreme individualism. We must help students establish their standpoints on class analysis, labor, the masses, collectivism, dialectical materialism, and historical materialism. We need to strengthen and improve

courses on Marxist theory in universities and the teaching of ethics and ideology in primary and secondary schools. The social science courses in universities and the language, history, and geography lessons in primary and secondary schools must include moral and political teaching. All schools, especially universities, should study more about current and political affairs. There should be lectures, printed information, and short-term training courses for key members of the teaching staff and students. Right now, universities have to work hard to educate their students so that they can uphold the socialist cause and establish the correct outlook on life and on the world. The requirement and content of studies should vary, depending on whether they are for teachers or students. Furthermore, we must improve the system of political studies and examinations.

Second, we should teach extensively and thoroughly the subject of patriotism. Patriotism is a common but sublime feeling. It is a precious spiritual wealth belonging to the Chinese race. If a person does not have patriotic character or feeling, then he is neither a Marxist nor a good citizen of the republic.

Patriotism has different meanings or requirements at different historical times. During the period of democratic revolution, the way to express our patriotism was to overthrow the "three big mountains" that had suppressed the Chinese people. Today, patriotism unites with socialism. To be patriotic is to love the socialist motherland. Patriotism is expressed by upholding the four basic principles, by embracing the reform and open policy, and by working diligently for the four modernizations and the development of China. Our nation comprises many races. The teaching of patriotism in school must focus on promoting the integration of the races and defending the unity of our country. When teaching the subject of patriotism, teachers should make good use of important festivals and historical events. This year is the 150th anniversary of the Opium War. We should take this chance to educate students extensively on patriotism. We need to write teaching materials on patriotism. We must organize all kinds of activities such as lectures, speeches, exhibitions, and tours to advertise and explain to students and teachers alike the history of the imperialist invasion of China. We must explain how Chinese people, led by the CPC, continued the struggle against invasion. We should criticize historical and national nihilism. Through education, we imbue our students and teachers with patriotic feelings and a desire to work for their country. They will then have more respect, confidence, pride, and love for the great socialist motherland.

Third, the party should provide the schools with more leadership, and the teaching staff should have better training in ideology. This is the only way to guarantee that education will stay on the socialist path and that ideological and political teachings will be given priority. Party committees and government offices must provide more leadership to party organizations and school officials. This will ensure that school authority is held firmly

in the hands of Marxist loyalists. In principle, university presidents are responsible for their schools, but they are to follow the leadership of party committees. Party committees in universities must to really fulfill their duties to keep the schools on the socialist path and to be in charge of ideological and political studies. At the same time, party committees must help the presidents with their administrative work. Primary and secondary schools also have the principal responsibility system. Principals, helped by higher ranking party officials, run their schools and implement moral education. Party officials in schools should function as the political core and as overseers. Intellectuals also are working class people and teachers are an important group of intellectuals. Teachers should gradually acquire the proletarian outlook on the world and master Marxist positions, viewpoints, and methods. Right now, we have to pay special attention to the ideological and political education of young teachers and graduate students. When the universities select their graduates for the teaching staff, school officials should learn from past experience and select only graduates who are moral and capable and who are Red and expert. If teachers refuse to improve and, instead, stubbornly cling to their bourgeois liberal positions, the school should relieve them of their teaching duties.

All schools should establish teams of political and ideological workers. Party officials, political workers, and teachers of moral education should play the key roles. At the same time, school officials should take the initiative and guide their teaching staff, administrative personnel, and service workers, so that moral education is combined with teaching, administrative work, and logistic support. Party and government offices will provide leadership to organizations such as teachers unions, workers unions, Communist Youth Leagues, Young Pioneers, and students unions. These organizations should tailor their work in ideological and political education to individual duties and characteristics. They should stay in tune with the teachers and students while working extensively for ideological and political education.

Fourth, we should strengthen the link between the students' labor education and social realities and help teachers and students integrate with workers and farmers. This is an important step that will help overcome the various levels of weakness in school education, that is, teaching that has alienated workers and farmers and has nothing in common with labor, reality, and the conditions of the state. This step will also help to reinforce ideological and political education. All schools must have a better understanding of labor education and practical work, and school officials must organize more activities. All government offices and business units should encourage more students to participate in productive labor and practical work and provide students with the necessary amenities.

Fifth, we will continue to implement the "Circular from the CPC Central Committee on Reforming and Improving Moral Education in Primary and Secondary Schools," the

"Resolution by the CPC Central Committee on Improving and Strengthening Ideological and Political Work in Universities," and all other documents relating to these matters. And we will continue to have new ideas and new experiences through practical work. Many places have been quite creative and advanced in the practical field of ideological and political education. For instance, Secondary School No. 1 in Wuxi, Jiangsu, reinforces the collectiveness of each class and combines students' physical growth with politically correct teachings. Leifeng Primary School in Wanghua District, Fushun, Liaoning, for 25 years has followed the example of Lei Feng and nurtured children with communist morals and ideology. Lixin Experimental Primary School in Mudanjiang City, Helongjiang, has always upheld labor education. Jilin and Hunan Provinces have established party committees at the education departments in all their cities and counties so that the party can better control primary and secondary school chief officials and provide leadership on ideological and political education. Chaozhou, Guangdong, has mobilized society to control and prevent juvenile delinquency and cultivate a new generation of people with "four-ownership." Shanghai has established education committees in its districts to coordinate with different levels of society and to combine efforts to improve school conditions and participate in moral education in schools. Qinghua University has a better counseling office for part-time jobs. The Military Medical University No. 4 works to improve its administration and at the same time strengthens ideological and political education. All these are the results of experiments in individual places, places that have expanded their regional experience.

Sixth, we need to have a comprehensive method to upgrade the education environment. In order to make ideological and political education possible, we must mobilize the whole society, use every method, and have effective overall management. We must let policy guide our way. When we inspect and evaluate our school work, we put ideological and political work as our priority. When we recruit new students, give awards, grant degrees, select principals, hire teachers, evaluate teaching jobs, promote cadres, give salary raises, and recommend students for study abroad, we must do so by adhering to strict political standards. We must closely administer student registration, oversee what is being taught in schools, and control the lifestyle and discipline on campuses. We need to tighten discipline and establish regulations and systems. We must make sure that primary and secondary school students behave properly and college students obey the "Standards of College Student Behavior." We must no longer allow chaotic administration, loose discipline, or unhealthy tendencies in schools. We must promote beneficial activities and encourage students to learn from heroic figures, such as Lei Feng and Lai Ning, and participate in educational activities. All party committees and government offices should be involved in the work of ideological and political education. Officials from different departments should coordinate with each other and with society.

They should provide healthy and rich spiritual nourishment for young people, take strong measures against criminal activities poisonous to young people, and create a good social environment for young people to grow up in healthily.

Seventh, we must work hard to keep a steady environment, and to defend stability and unity in the schools. The leading cadres in all schools, especially colleges, must clearly understand that, at present, their overriding duty is to guarantee social stability. Stability in schools is the key element to social stability. Without stability, there will be no school reform and development or trained socialist builders and successors. International antagonistic powers will not give up their plot for "peaceful evolution." Domestically, people who stand by their bourgeois liberal position will not easily leave the historical stage. There are still many problems and difficulties in the process of building socialist modernization in our nation. All these facts will, more or less, affect the thinking and feelings of our teachers and students. The construction of socialist modernization needs a stable domestic environment and schools should do their share to promote a stable and united political situation. Therefore, all schools, especially colleges, should consider stabilization of the school environment to be their most important chore. This chore will last for a considerable period of time. School officials should work conscientiously and solidly to destroy any unstable elements before they sprout into flowers. They should truly care for the students but at the same time be strict. They should work at making the schools a strong front for defending stability and unity.

III. Be Conscientious and Thorough in Carrying Out the Policies of Rectification, Reorganization, and Further Reform; Promote the Continuous, Stable, and Harmonious Development of Education

The rectification, reorganization, and reform of the education system are an important part of the rectification, reorganization, and reform of the whole economy. Our education system has gone through sweeping developments during the last decade. We now need time to be selective and work on replenishing, amending, rearranging, and restructuring, so that we can consolidate our past achievements. The rectification, reorganization, and reform of our national economy require the cooperation of education and also create a necessary condition for the rectification, reorganization, and reform of education. We must grasp this opportunity to rectify, reorganize, and reform. We need to concentrate our energy on rearranging our internal structure, improving the quality of education, and building a good foundation for future development.

When we rectify and reorganize we must look at the present education environment and pay close attention to the following points:

—We must take initiatives, but we also need to be cautious. Development policies and emphases must be made according to the individual characteristics of

each kind of educational institute. Experiences accumulated during the last 10 years tell us that in education we must combine demand and capacity, long-term and short-term goals, and quality and quantity. Our education system is, on the whole, quite backward and needs to be developed more. Education improvement has an important role in rectification and reorganization. But, because of national economic and financial difficulties, during rectification and reorganization the budget allocated for education will not increase sufficiently to satisfy the need. Graduates of certain kinds of schools or subjects will have temporary difficulty getting job assignments and this will somewhat temper the speed of educational development. Under these circumstances, different categories of schools should have different policies; there is no "one-size-fits-all" treatment. In places where there is still no compulsory primary school education for children, we need to be aggressive in making schooling possible. We need to be more active in developing vocational and technical education, especially in rural areas. The scope of higher education should stay the same, but certain specialized fields or professions urgently needed by society will increase appropriately. We must expand adult education and reorganize institutes granting degrees. We also need to take more initiatives to eliminate illiteracy.

—We should make further readjustments to the education structure and the overall arrangement of schooling. The irrational structure of education is reflected in a system that does not meet the demands of economic construction and social development. We have to start with the foundation of our work and make revisions. The foundation of our overall structure should be nine-year compulsory education. We need to then actively promote vocational and technical education. This way we can improve workers' qualifications and prepare them for midlevel jobs. At the same time, we should systematically train people for higher level and professional jobs. For secondary school education, we should further develop various types of vocational and technical teaching and training. Vocational and technical schools in the rural areas have to answer to agricultural needs and focus on the development and improvement of agriculture. We also have to reorganize the administrative sections, course work, and specialty studies in universities. We should expand the area of professional training, increase the number of practical courses, and open up more fields of specialized study. Primary and secondary education should be revised gradually and its quality should be improved. The result of this revision will be more beneficial and children will find it much easier to go to school. Universities and professional institutes will also have to go through gradual readjustment. Higher education institutes need to look into what society wants and to improve quality and efficiency. Some institutes have to be combined and some need to be split up to cut down redundancy.

—We need to tighten discipline and improve management. During the years of rapid development, there were no coordinating policies and macromanagement was far from perfect. There is chaos in the education system: Some government offices and schools in certain areas randomly open schools, give diplomas, and charge fees. These schools tend to have a rather loose administration. This kind of chaos damages the image of education and has a bad influence on everyday teaching in school and on scientific studies. Society reacts strongly against it. To correct this error we need to look into individual situations, give guidance, and strengthen management. We should expose those schools that have seriously offended or committed illegal acts and punish them through administrative or legal means. The basic responsibility of a school is to cultivate socialist builders and successors, people with ideals, morals, culture, and discipline. The schools and their teaching staff should concentrate on teaching and training students. Promoting such activities as work-study programs or social service is important and necessary in a sense that these activities can strengthen the links between schools and society. These activities may improve school conditions and student qualifications. But, the bottom line is that these activities should not be only for making money. We must work out an overall arrangement and logical distribution and we must plan and organize these activities. Otherwise, they will damage the learning process, corrupt people, and obscure the way to run schools properly. I have already reported to the National People's Congress Standing Committee on the issue of work-study programs in primary and secondary schools and the social service program in universities. We look at individual cases and reorganize these programs by "keeping the good parts but throwing away the bad." The National Education Committee will continue to draw up documents relating to the problems of tightening discipline and improving management.

—Education must be more cost-effective. We need to have proper planning on the scope and speed of development, on the restructuring of the system, and on improving the quality of teaching. On the other hand, we need to cut down the number of personnel, avoid overstaffing, and lower the operational budget. We know that all schools, despite their differences, have potential resources. Recently, some districts and schools under went internal reform. Their teachers have taken more initiative and the schools have improved. All schools should first look at their local environment and start their reforms on a small scale. After they gain some experience, they can gradually expand their programs. As for employees who have to leave, their schools should help them settle down. Other sectors in society also need to give these people a helping hand. If we can manage this, the money allotted for education will be spent more efficiently and the administration and standard of teaching will also be improved.

What I have just said on rectification and reorganization is for the whole nation in general. The Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee made a resolution concerning rectification, reorganization, and reform. To understand the essence of the Fifth Plenary Session, each region looks first at its own situation, defines what needs to be rectified and reorganized, and sets up its own goals and procedures.

The fact that we should rectify and reorganize does not mean we are holding up progress, retreating to old ways, or abandoning reform. Rectification and reorganization, in fact, provide the necessary conditions for further and better reform. Besides, rectification and reorganization synchronize with reform. While we focus our energy on rectification and reorganization, reform continues to serve rectification and reorganization. We must uphold the spirit of the Fifth Plenary Session and have a correct understanding of the relationship between rectifying and reorganizing the education system and expanding reform.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our primary education, vocational and technical education, university education, and adult education have gone through many changes. We have also accomplished a lot in opening up to the outside. Since the announcement of the 1985 "Resolution on Reform of the Education System by the CPC Central Committee," we have achieved more in reforming education, especially in the rural areas. While we are working at rectification, reorganization, and reform, we must remember that the prerequisite for them is to stay on the socialist path. We summarize our past experiences. We maintain stability. Then we enrich, restructure, and improve the reform we have accomplished during the past few years so that educational reform can go forward. We should encourage all regions, departments, schools, and educators to take initiatives. We support their initiative to conduct pilot projects or experiments to improve education and teaching. The National Education Committee has already approved pilot projects for comprehensive education reform in rural areas, medium-sized cities, vocational schools, and universities. We also need to continue to reform the administrative system, new-student selection, postgraduate job assignments, the examination system, the school system, teaching methods, and the curricula. While we rectify and reorganize, we must also reinforce the legislative work in the education sphere. We should improve macromanagement and strengthen control at the same time as cutting down bureaucratic procedures and allocating more responsibilities. Each region, department, and school should decide on its own goals, focal points, and plans of reform at the time of rectification and reorganization.

IV. Focus on Imposing Nine-Year Compulsory Education, Elementary Education Will Be Reinforced, and Reform Will Be Expanded

Elementary education is the foundation of the whole education system. It is crucial to elevating racial qualities and building the two civilizations. It will also be the

focus of the development and reform of education during the 1990's. Elementary education is concerned with development of the whole education system, the qualitative improvement of the whole Chinese race, and the construction of socialist modernization. Therefore, I must say a few words about the problem of strengthening elementary education.

Our goal in this century for the development of elementary education is to produce a Chinese elementary education system that follows the socialist path and meets the challenge of the 21st century. The Chinese elementary education system is based on nine-year compulsory education. It coordinates with higher education, vocational, technical, and adult education. The system should meet the needs of building socialist modernization.

To develop and reform elementary education, we must be practical and take local differences into consideration. We should have unity and variety and keep our balance of control by letting both the central and local governments take the initiative. We encourage the masses to develop their potential. Where there is compulsory primary school education, we need to improve it. Where there is none, we need to create suitable conditions for its development. If we want to have more junior high schools, we need to hire more teachers. We should improve the school environment and overall structures. We must help the junior highs that are not in good condition. We will progress steadily under these premises. We need to control the size of senior high schools, and redistribute students if there are not enough high schools in any given places. We also need to help the minorities build their compulsory education system.

Imposing compulsory education is the most important work in the 1990's and we must do our best to accomplish this assignment. However difficult this assignment may seem, we have already built a good foundation: Some 80 percent of populated areas have compulsory primary school education. Many medium-sized and large cities and some rural areas have compulsory junior high school education. As long as we are determined, active, and maintain our down-to-earth manner, we will reach our goals. If over 1 billion people in this country have had nine years of compulsory education, then in the 21st century more working people will be better educated and the quality of the whole race will be improved. This will undoubtedly provide a good foundation for the economic takeoff and social development in our nation during the 21st century. It is not an exaggeration to say that nine-year compulsory education is a heroic undertaking in the history of education and a great strategy and project for the 21st century. All government offices must follow the instructions listed in the "Compulsory Education Ordinance." We must attend to regional differences, plan carefully, create conditions for schooling, and work hard to uphold policies.

As for long-term planning for the development and reform of elementary education, the State Education Commission has drawn up the "Working Blueprint for

the Development and Reform of Elementary Education (Draft)." The main tasks of elementary education this year are listed in the "Work Points for the State Education Commission in 1990." I just want to emphasize here the key points of the work we need to continue, based on what we have learned from past experience.

1. Elementary education reform will be enriched and extended in four steps.

First, we must go further and deeper in our effort to reform the administrative system of elementary education. We have achieved some successes in making elementary education the responsibility of regional government and more places now have elementary education. At present, if we are to reform and administer elementary education we must designate duties: The department in charge from the central government will continue with macro-management, but municipalities, autonomous regions, and provinces will have more power to make decisions and plans in education; central cities and counties will have more say in planning and administration. Under the instruction of state ordinances, schools will have more independence and will become more localized. Rural areas are more progressive than urban areas when it comes to reforming the system of elementary education. Therefore, the State Education Commission will continue to support and encourage medium-sized cities to experiment in comprehensive educational reform. Afterward, we can learn from these experiments and promote them. Every regional government ought to encourage and support more studies and experiments in reforming the elementary education system in cities. This will make the system more suitable to the urban environment and more responsive to the demands of the urban economy and social development. We need to have rules and to establish an arrangement to help county, city, provincial, and state governments oversee their schools. regional governments can have a stronger role in administering elementary education.

Second, we must work out a comprehensive scheme to reform rural education. Some 80 percent of our population live in rural areas. There are 214 million students in primary and junior high schools and 80 percent of them are from the rural areas. This fact means that elementary education in our country must start from rural areas, but the center of our problem also lies in the countryside. We must therefore pay special attention to rural education. Agriculture is the foundation of our national economy and agricultural development depends on policies, technologies, and increased investment. In our country, however, there are more people than land and there is a scarcity of natural resources per capita. In the long run, the only way to safeguard the foundation of our national economy is to depend on technology. We should therefore continue to help agricultural workers improve their understanding of cultural and scientific matters. These workers will be more capable of absorbing and using modern agricultural techniques. If we want rural education to be able to meet this objective demand, we must continue to have new ideas, to expand education reform,

and to correct structural problems. The government offices in villages and counties have to include education in their overall planning for the local economy and for social development. The government should have plans designated for administering and managing elementary, vocational and technical, and adult education. The high schools in rural areas should correspond to the needs of regional economic construction and social development. As long as rural education serves the farmers and their personal gain, farmers will be enthusiastic in sending their children to school. We should proceed further with experiments in rural education in the 100 counties. We should demonstrate the "Liaoyuan plan," an experiment that is to be carried out nationally. This will help move rural education towards more reform. This year is International Literacy Year. We must try to wipe out illiteracy and prevent the production of a new generation of illiterates.

Third, we should reform more of the the internal school administration. As we go further in reform of the elementary education system, we have to change the internal structure at school. This reform will improve school vitality, implement the principle of payment according to labor, encourage teacher initiative, raise the qualifications of principals and teachers, make investment in schools more profitable, and improve management and teaching. Some places have already tried, on a small scale, to change the internal school system and they have been quite successful. Some districts have "principal selection," "teachers hired on contract," and the "responsibility system." These changes help revitalize the schools. Of all the changes the schools need to make, the most important is the selection of and training process for primary and high school principals. When we train and evaluate people for the position of principal, we must have strict rules. We need to find out whether the person has the necessary political qualities, professional standards, and administrative abilities. Furthermore, we must follow a scientific and comprehensive method. We will have more macromanagement, more democratic supervision, and better scientific evaluation. We insist that "everything must go through trials." We will conduct experiments and learn from experience.

Fourth, we must further reform and improve the school entrance and examination system. This is important if we are to reform teaching in primary and secondary schools. In order to correct the phenomenon of overemphasizing the school acceptance rate, we must educate the whole society, take the initiative, and look to reform for a solution. To those students who cannot get into higher education institutes, we should provide them with vocational and technical education. We also need to implement the education policy and lessen the student's load. We encourage reform and seek to improve the quality of teaching. We look for a better examination process and system for primary and high schools. If compulsory junior high school education is already established in the district, primary school graduates should be able to go straight to a junior high school without any entrance

examination. We also need to reform our senior high school graduate examination. Some cities and provinces have tried simplifying their high school final examinations. This is a worthy attempt. Other places need to study and experiment, summarize, and propagate their experiences. At an appropriate time we should reform the matriculation examination system. We will carry out reform by adhering to the principle of the high school education policy. We should have some means of including moral and physical education in the evaluation and tests so that the examination results will not be so lopsided.

2. We must work harder to promote the three items essential in elementary education.

First, we should create a better team of teachers for elementary education. Teachers are the key to improving education. Teachers have worked diligently and contributed a lot to the educational front line. Because of the recent attention from society and the party, the wages paid to teachers have been increased and teacher quality has improved. But, on the whole, we don't have enough teachers to meet the demands of reform and development. We are also faced with a new problem. It is estimated that many of the qualified teachers who are now teaching in primary and secondary schools will gradually retire in the 1990's and this will have a negative effect on teaching standards. In order to have more good teachers, we must work on the following points:

a. We must make changes in teachers' colleges and normal universities to improve the teacher training process. Teachers' schools and colleges should understand that they are to serve rural education. They must change their method in recruiting students and produce qualified teachers for the nine-year compulsory education system. We should draw up a policy to attract the best high school graduates to normal colleges and to encourage the best college graduates to become school teachers. Comprehensive universities and institutes with the ability to train teachers should share the burden. We should upgrade our teacher training by using the qualification and grade system and by using other policies as levers. Teachers should eventually become both Red and expert.

b. We must strengthen the ideological and political education of teachers. Teachers are essential to their students' ideological and political education. Party committees, government offices, administrative sections of education departments and schools must pay attention to teachers' ideological qualifications. We should establish a system to regularly train and produce teaching staff who are capable and who have firm ideological viewpoints. We must also pay special attention to the training and selection of principals.

c. We must improve the social status and living standards of teachers. Government offices and schools should formulate a system to present rewards, both

spiritual and material, to distinguished teachers. Each region is allowed to give their teachers raises if the amounts do not exceed the national wage standard. If the school is in a position to try to reform the wage system, it is allowed to do so. At the same time, we must improve teachers' housing benefits, medical benefits, health insurance, retirement, and other social welfare. This can be done according to regional differences. In some rural areas local residents hire and pay for the teachers. These teachers are essential to the development of elementary education in these areas. Government offices and education departments should pay more attention to them and raise their wages accordingly. Normal universities should select more of these rural teachers as their students. This will help them find more qualified students and rural teachers will have more incentives. All regions should be more active in helping to equalize the wages of the privately hired and the publicly assigned teachers. The state will also set aside a certain quota so that some of these private teachers can occupy government teaching positions.

Second, we must have better teaching materials for primary and high schools. This is an important element in primary and high school teaching. Right now, some of these teaching materials lack ideology. Some are impractical, too difficult, too voluminous, and too monotonous. The content of teaching materials should be ideological, informative, scientific, and practical. There should be a variety of teaching materials, though these materials would have to meet the basic requirements and would have to be approved. We need to change the monotony of primary and high school teaching materials. They do not correspond to the different demands of economic and social development in different regions. Therefore, each region will be allowed to follow a uniform outline and write its own teaching materials—materials that will contain individual characteristics and meet individual objectives. Those who are able to write teaching materials for primary and high schools that reflect conditions in the rural areas should be encouraged to do so. But, all teaching materials, whether they are the established kind or those used in experiments, should be submitted for approval before they being adopted for use. The State Education Commission will draw up a policy for receiving approval. Right now, the problem with teaching materials is that they lack ideology. We need to cut down content that is repetitious, too difficult, or that has nothing to do with reality.

Third, we must improve school conditions for elementary education. Shandong Province and some other places have always depended on their people to set up schools. Their experiences have inspired us and opened a road for developing elementary education. Each region should pay attention to these experiences. A few years ago, we had a saying about improving school conditions for elementary education, known as the success of "one have not and two haves." (We have no dangerous buildings. We have a desk and a chair for every student. We have classrooms for all the classes.) In the poorer areas, the

standard of economic development is lower and conditions for schooling are less than ideal. The "one have not and two haves" is still the goal these areas try to reach. But most regions should not be content with merely the standard of "one have not and two haves." Shandong's "set of six" (school building, desks and chairs, walls surrounding the campus, school gate, playground, toilets) should be the goal that most regions can achieve. Running a school requires quality work. We must also be practical. When we set up our facilities, they should be coordinated. We should, however, be thrifty when building our education system. Each region should look into its own situation and not just blindly aim at a high standard. We take our national conditions into consideration and gradually build up our investment for education, from national endowments and from fund-raising through various channels. As the economy becomes more developed and revenues increase, the state government should increase the proportion of the budget allocated to education expenditures. During rectification and reorganization, we must follow the policy of "defending education." Educational expenses cannot be slashed; instead, they need to be adequately increased. We must also do our balancing act to encourage involvement from the central and the local government. We mobilize the social forces, pursue possible resources, and raise money from everywhere. People run the schools and schools exist for the people. We also need to formulate rules about raising money for schools, so that the resources for educational expenses remain stable or increase. We have to be more efficient in spending educational allowances and more careful in taking care of this limited amount of money.

3. We should systematically choose the better experiments in educational reform and extend these experiences.

During the last decade, a characteristic of elementary education reform has been for many experiments to be conducted in the area of teaching reform. All over the country, many schools have started experiments to improve teaching. These experiments involve many teaching activities. The progress is impressive and the achievements outstanding. Because of these teaching experiments, we have many advanced units and advanced individuals and we have accumulated many experiences. If we want to promote the reform of elementary education and raise the quality of teaching, we must rely on those teachers who operate on the frontier of reform. We depend on and support their creative work.

Among the many educational reforms, reform of teaching methods is the most popular, most vital, and most effective. Many a time primary and high school teachers who were not so qualified, and who could not achieve a certain standard in a short time, learned to operate under existing circumstances. They combined their knowledge and taught the subjects they knew well. Their advanced method produces good-quality teaching. This is a good way to help teachers become more qualified and raise the standard of teaching. Education

departments ought to look into this matter and study it. They should choose some successful teaching experiments and organize activities to promote them.

In this new year, we sincerely hope that officials from various government offices and education departments have acquired a new and energetic attitude. They should go to the grassroots, do studies and research, and provide more guidance for education. Teachers work hard and struggle to devote themselves to education. They should elevate their political consciousness and professional qualities. Everyone should love and be dedicated to education. The whole society should contribute what it can to improve education for our country. In the first year of the 1990's in the 20th century, we can acquire a new outlook, achieve new progress, and score new victories.

Unify Understanding and Further Do Well in Economic Improvement and Rectification

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[Article by Wang Renzhong (3769 0117 6850)]

[Text]

I

In September 1988, the Third Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee put forward the principle of improving the economic environment, rectifying economic order, and deepening reform in an all-round way. In November 1989, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee passed the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Further Improvement and Rectification of the Economy and Deepening Reform." Through more than a year of improvement and rectification, our country's economy has taken a pleasing step in the direction pointed out by the Fifth Plenary Session. This is manifested mainly in: There has been an alleviation of the contradiction between overall demand and supply; inflation has been controlled and price rises are seeing a gradual reduction; there has been a clear drop in the excessive speed of industrial growth; there has been an improvement in the major proportional relationships of the national economy; the development impetus of imports and exports has been maintained and foreign exchange reserves have recovered. This shows that the principle of further improvement and rectification and the deepening of reform is completely correct and we should firmly and unwaveringly continue to implement it.

Following the continued deepening of improvement and rectification, some new situations and new problems have appeared in economic life. The main ones are: Market sales are weak, the products of some enterprises are stockpiled, the fall in the speed of industrial development has been too great, there has been an increase in unemployed personnel, and so on. How are these problems to be viewed? Has the improvement and rectification gone too far? Will the national economy see a recession? If these problems of understanding are not

rectified, it could affect some comrades' faith and resolve to further do well in improvement and rectification.

I believe that the several problems which have appeared in current economic life are reflections of problems which have accumulated over the years. Such problems cannot be completely avoided in the first stage of improvement and rectification. It can be said that these problems are the price that must be paid in handling excessive demand in the economy and, thus, they are temporary phenomena. However, only if appropriate measures are adopted will it be possible to quickly resolve these problems.

Over the last few years, the outstanding problems in our country's economic life have been overheated economic development, serious inflation, imbalance between overall volumes, structural irrationality, and chaotic economic order. The roots of inflation and imbalance in overall volumes lie in economic overheating. The tasks of improvement and rectification are many. However, the primary tasks are to bring down the overheated speed of development and to control total demand, which far exceeds total supply. Controlling demand, tightening credit, and tightening finances will, to a greater or lesser extent, affect the speed of growth in industrial production and influence the market. No matter how carefully work is done, how well arrangements are made, and how much the influence can be reduced, for a time, production will be affected. This is inevitable and to be expected.

The problem is whether, with respect to existing economic policies, it is possible not to engage in improvement and rectification and not apply appropriate cutbacks. Practice has proven that this is not possible. We need to recognize that the high speed of economic development in the last few years has to a large degree involved using up past gains and incurring deficits, issuing a large volume of bonds and obtaining credit domestically and abroad. Such practices can be maintained for some time, but certainly cannot be sustained. Allowing such practices to develop, allowing inflation to grow, and ignoring the serious imbalance in the proportions of the national economy not only creates chaos and fluctuations in economic life, but also produces turbulence throughout society and may even give rise to some dreadful results. The three tides of panic-purchasing in 1988 attest to this. It was on the basis of this situation that the party Central Committee adopted drastic measures and determined to carry out improvement and rectification. Through a year of efforts by the whole party and the people of the whole country, clear, phased results have been achieved. However, we must recognize that some of the basic factors giving rise to inflation have not been eliminated and some deep-level problems affecting economic stability have not been basically resolved. For example, total social demand is still greater than total supply, the scale of fixed-asset investment throughout society is still too large, and consumption funds, which have seen inflated growth for many years,

have still not been completely controlled. The irrationality of the economic structure, poor economic results, and some defects in the economic system are still very prominent. This shows that the task of improvement and rectification set down by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee is still far from completed. Thus, we certainly cannot talk about the work of improvement and rectification having been completed, much less can we speak of it as having gone too far.

The problem of the weak market and slack sales is certainly worthy of close attention and we certainly cannot look lightly upon it. However, we need to see that this "weakness" and so on are only temporary surface phenomena. The market reflects the commodity supply-demand relationships. In our country, the commodity supply-demand relationships are, generally speaking, not relationships where production and supply are excessive, but ones where commodities are in short supply and supply is unable to meet demand. For only a small number of products do we have a situation where supply exceeds demand. Our country has more than 1 million large and small enterprises and if each enterprise adds another 100,000 yuan in investment, this will produce a further 100 billion yuan of investment in one year, and thus 100 billion yuan of products will be purchased from the market. For an enterprise, an investment of 80,000 to 100,000 yuan is nothing, just enough to buy a few pieces of equipment. Consumption by residents is the same. The average level of consumption in our country is low, but our population is great, numbering 1.1 billion. If every person spends an extra one jiao every day, in one year this will mean an expenditure of 40 billion yuan. There is this sort of huge purchasing power. Further, in the hands of the masses there is still currency valued at several hundred billion yuan which has not been spent. Thus we cannot allow a temporary situation of poor sales, where we just look at the phenomenon and not at the essence, to shake our resolve in improvement and rectification. I believe that if we adopt appropriate measures, the problem of not being able to sell products will not be difficult to resolve. For example, through implementing preferential policies, and appropriately investing some funds in commercial departments so that they can purchase products, we will be able to bring into play the reservoir role of state commerce; by encouraging enterprises to engage in technical transformation and arranging well investment in basic industries and major basic equipment, we will ensure that large and medium-sized enterprises will have vigor. This will mean a turn for the better in the market situation and industry will be enlivened. Enterprises must also develop and produce new products, improve product quality, and increase types and varieties. They must also put efforts into developing markets, in particular the rural market. I believe that the speed of development in our country's industry will see an upward trend and that the average annual growth of 5-6 percent in national gross output value which the CPC Central Committee has put forward as a goal to be striven for, can be realized. Here we need to pay special attention to the possibility that,

under the pressure resulting from the reaction to the difficulties faced by all sides, inflation may see a resurgence. If this happens, not only will all the previous results in improvement and rectification be lost, but we will see a more serious and pernicious inflation than previously. On the two occasions we implemented retrenchment policies back in 1986 and 1987, they were stopped half way, because not long after they were implemented, there were excessive worries that industrial production would see a swift decline. The result was that the economy saw a continual rise in temperature and inflation was exacerbated. In the current improvement and rectification, we must draw on these historical lessons.

The Central Committee has particularly pointed out that many of our leading comrades have underestimated the difficulties and that this is a major problem at present. I believe that this analysis accords with the actual situation. Blind optimism and insufficient confidence are two manifestations of the underestimation of the difficulties. At present, the problem of insufficient confidence is a little more prominent. This is not strange, because in the last few years we have repeatedly spoken of a stable economy and stable prices and neither have been realized. Thus, they want to see the results of our practice. We should allow them to see the results first. Of course, we need to do some work in terms of providing explanations to them, but there is no need to engage in excessive debate with them. Only by continually realizing achievements in improvement and rectification will the various new problems which have appeared at present be gradually resolved and will these people gradually increase their confidence.

II

The causes of the temporary economic difficulties which have appeared in our country are multifaceted. However, basically, they derive from many years of total demand exceeding total supply and excessive distribution of national income. They are also the result of there being, on the guiding ideology level, an excessive eagerness to achieve results and a failure to implement a firm, sustained, and coordinated development policy.

Being divorced from national conditions, exceeding national strengths, and being overeager to achieve results have, on several occasions, resulted in large fluctuations. This is the most important lesson learned in the course of our country's economic development. The Great Leap Forward of 1958 and the "foreign leap forward" [yang yue jin 3152 6460 6651] engaged in during the two years after the smashing of the gang of four in 1976 were both over-anxious for results and put forward excessively high, impractical goals. This produced serious effects and later there was no option but to carry out readjustment. In the fourth quarter of 1984, economic overheating occurred again. Although this had been detected at that time, Comrade Zhao Ziyang insisted on "a soft landing." In fact, he did not believe that the economy was overheated and, rather than "landing," the economy

was "taking off." This is one of the major reasons why we must carry out improvement and rectification today. Economic construction certainly must proceed from reality and requires seeking truth from facts and acting within one's capacities. If these principles are violated, it will mean that the economy will experience fluctuations and setbacks. This is an objective law which has been repeatedly proven. Thus, regardless of whether we speak of the period during improvement and rectification or the period after completion of improvement and rectification, we must firmly establish a guiding ideology for sustained, stable, and coordinated development, and guard against being over-anxious for success. We also need to put continuous improvements of economic results in the prime position of economic work.

Not only must we not be over-anxious for success in economic construction, the same is true of structural reform and improvement and rectification work. The major goal of improvement and rectification is to suppress inflation, but success in suppressing inflation is certainly not just a matter of tightening up on money. In both the traditional economic structure and the current economic structure in our country, there exists the problem of spurred overall demand inflation. One of the major problems of the traditional system is investment hunger and, because the reform measures have not been coordinated, this mechanism continues to play a role. Since the reform began, the tendency to stress microeconomic stimulation and ignore macroeconomic stimulation has appeared. In the microeconomy, the inflation mechanism has been strengthened, but the self-restraining mechanism has not been correspondingly established. In the macroeconomy, at a time when new, indirect control measures have not been established or perfected, the original direct control measures have been relaxed and given up too early and to too great a degree. These have all been factors leading to economic overheating and inflation. In the last year or so, the alleviation of the contradiction between overall social demand and overall supply has been due mainly to controls exercised over investment demand and consumer demand through administrative measures. If these problems on the structural level are not resolved, as soon as administrative control is relaxed, there will be a resurgence of the inflation mechanism. However, the resolution of these problems is certainly not an easy matter.

If we say that solving the lack of balance in the overall volumes is not easy, then to a certain degree, the resolution of structural irrationality is even more difficult. Over the last few years, the major proportional relationships in our country's national economy, such as the relationship between agriculture and industry, between heavy industry and light industry, and between capital construction and the processing industry have been seriously disjointed. This is yet another major cause of inflation. The readjustment at the beginning of the 1980's was aimed mainly at resolving the problem where there was too much stress on heavy industry and too little stress on light industry. Comparatively speaking,

that was quite a lot easier. The current improvement and rectification work and the improvement of the irrational industrial structure will mainly involve strengthening agriculture, strengthening the energy, communications, and raw materials industries, and cutting back on some general processing industries which are excessive in number or in which there is serious duplication. The construction cycle for the energy, communications, and raw materials industries is quite long and requires large amounts of funds. Thus, this aspect of readjusting the industrial structure is much more difficult. The closing down, suspension, merger, or transfer of enterprises and changing of the fixed asset reserve structure will involve much friction and pain. This is likewise something that cannot be realized overnight.

Since the beginning of the reforms, a situation has arisen in our country of dispersed decisionmaking entities and diversified interest entities. In these reforms, there have been some correct and rational measures, but there have also been some which have been inappropriate. For the latter, it is necessary to find more appropriate measures through investigation, research, and deepened reform. Improvement and rectification are, in the end, a readjustment of interests. On the one hand, we must strengthen education in centralized unity and opposition to decentralization and, on the other hand, we need to concurrently consider the interests of the central authorities and the localities, the state and the enterprises, the coastal regions and the hinterland, the workers and the peasants, and so on. It is necessary for us to adopt a policy encompassing "unified planning with due consideration for all concerned" so as to safeguard and motivate the enthusiasm of all sides. In principle, this situation is no different from that of the several readjustments in the past, but there is a great difference in terms of degree. This increases the difficulty of our improvement and rectification.

Maintaining the stability of the state is where the basic interests of the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country lie at present. Political stability is the precondition and economic stability is the base. Both these aspects are indispensable. Improvement and rectification must also submit to this overall demand. Thus, in the process of improvement and rectification we need to implement a few essential reform measures but also maintain the basic stability of policies. We need to control inflation and also need to maintain an appropriate speed of economic growth. We need to control overall volume, but also need to have guarantees and restrictions, and relaxed and tight policies. We need to readjust the industrial structure and also need to appropriately arrange the lives of staff and workers and those who are awaiting employment, and ensure that the living standards of the majority of staff and workers do not decline. These aspects determine that we cannot be over-anxious for results or deal with things simplistically.

The above situation shows that improvement and rectification is an extremely complex and arduous task. All

levels of party committees must strengthen leadership and act strictly in accordance with the various principles and policies set down by the Fifth Plenary Session. The various democratic parties, mass organizations, and nonparty personages must also actively throw themselves into this work, so that everyone's efforts and wisdom can be pooled and this work of improvement and rectification can be done well. This will allow our country's national economy to gradually free itself from the temporary difficulties that are obstructing its advance and allow it to follow a road of sustained, stable, and coordinated development.

III

How are we to further do well in improvement and rectification? At the end of last year, the party's Fifth Plenary Session made the decision on further improvement and rectification and deepening reform, and set down stipulations on the tasks, demands, principles, and policies for improvement, rectification, and deepening reform. Only by seriously implementing this decision in an overall way will it be possible for us to achieve the goals of improvement and rectification and will our country's economic situation steadily improve. Seen from the present situation, I believe that in doing well in improvement and rectification, we must especially pay attention to doing well in the following several aspects:

First, we must unify ideas and appropriately strengthen centralized unity.

Some comrades are worried that the "Decision" cannot be implemented properly. This is understandable. However, I believe that if the whole party and the people of the whole nation unify their understanding, have a spirit of struggle, and seriously implement the "Decision," the tasks put forward can certainly be realized. First, the "Decision" was formulated by summing up the positive and negative experiences over many years of practice. It accords with the current actual situation in our country and seeks truth from facts. The achievements in improvement and rectification over the last year or so testify to this point. It is not strange that some contradictions have appeared in the process of improvement and rectification. These contradictions were expected. Some were caused by problems in operations and, through adopting appropriate measures, can be completely resolved. Second, the party Central Committee, with Comrade Jiang Zemin as its core, is a leading group, united as one, which seeks truth from facts, goes deep among the masses, understands the actual situation, makes democratic decisions, practices what it advocates, and is closely tied to its work. This group is very different from that when Comrade Zhao Ziyang was general secretary, which did not do what it said it would do or else changed its mind soon after making a decision. This is the most important condition for implementing the Central Committee's "Decision" and for doing well in the work of improvement and rectification.

On the basis of unifying thought, we must appropriately strengthen centralized unity and overcome decentralism. One of the problems of our country's old economic structure was that it was too centralized and controlled too tightly. It was correct to reform the excessively centralized old system and to implement the handing down of power. However, we should not hand down power excessively. Our country is a large country. We are firmly developing a planned commodity economy on the basis of public ownership. Expanding enterprises' autonomy and fully motivating the enthusiasm of enterprises and localities, while at the same time having appropriate centralization and maintaining the planned proportional development of the overall national economy is a major manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system. Only with appropriate centralization is it possible to manage key projects and arrange large projects that the localities cannot manage by themselves, and manifest the superiorities of the planned economy. In 1962, at a meeting of 7,000 persons, Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed centralized unity and opposition to decentralism. This resulted in the whole country pooling all its efforts to overcome difficulties and, in 1963, the situation saw a turn for the better. In 1964 and 1965, industry and agriculture revived and developed quite quickly. Practice has proven that whenever there is appropriate centralization, the economy sees coordinated development. In the opposite situation, a chaotic situation appears. For a time in the past, excessive power was handed down and many regions and departments considered only their own parochial interests. There was duplicate import and duplicate construction, the localities had countermeasures for every policy implemented above, and every locality went its own way. The country was not a unified entity and this gave rise to great waste. At present, some areas still lack an overall viewpoint and they think, "although the overall situation is being readjusted, I do not need to readjust; although the overall situation is being subject to cutbacks, I do not need to cut back," and they want to continue "contending." These situations are not beneficial to improvement and rectification and must be overcome. Of course, the centralization must be appropriate. We must not return to the old road where power was excessively centralized and where localities and enterprises were managed to death.

Second, we must do well in long-term planning and maintain a comprehensive balance.

Maintaining a comprehensive balance in the national economy in which all sectors develop in proportion is an objective demand of socialist economic development. Comprehensive balance can be short-term, over a year, and it can be long-term, over one or more decades. The short-term balance is important, but some problems cannot be seen clearly in a year and need to be approached through long-term planning and arrangements. There are also some problems that can be seen quite clearly at present, but cannot be immediately resolved. These include, for example, the problem of

overall social demand exceeding overall social supply. Also, over the last few years, excessive currency has been issued. Recovering the currency and ensuring that prices are completely stabilized is something that will require several years of effort. These things need a long-term plan, such as a development plan to the end of this century.

Long-term plans must be formulated in accordance with the principle of comprehensive balance and the need to resolve some major problems of basic significance and some problems which can be easily overlooked in the short term. These include the problems of water, of energy strategies, resource development, transportation, and so on. Water is extremely important in industrial and agricultural production and in people's lives. Crops, animals, adults, and children cannot go without water for even a short time. When the scale of industrial production is increased, the amount of water used will also increase. However, at present there are some areas which only pay attention to the expansion of the scale of industry and do not pay attention to expanding the scale of water resources. This may, in the long-term, lead to major losses. Our country's northern areas lack water. What is to be done there? I believe that we can divert southern water northward by diverting water from the Chang Jiang. Will diversion of the Chang Jiang affect its ecological balance? No, it will not. The total annual flow of the Chang Jiang is 800 billion to 1 trillion cubic meters. The diversion of 40 billion cubic meters to northern China will involve only five percent of total flow. However, the effects of bringing this 40 billion cubic meters to northern China will be equivalent to having another Huang He and it will play a great role. This needs to be included in long-term plans, so that it can be researched. The sinking of wells by villages has resolved current water-use problems, but the decline in the level of the water table and the formation of funnels is a major problem. The energy development strategy deserves even more attention. Our country has a large amount of coal and at present we have to develop thermal electricity. However, using coal to produce electricity is very wasteful of resources and this is indeed a shame. Seen from the long-term view, we should pay attention to developing hydroelectricity in the Chang Jiang basin and in the various southern provinces. The comprehensive efficiency of hydroelectricity is high, its cost is low, there is no pollution, and it can allow the saving of vast underground resources. Major questions such as this which affect the national economy and the people's livelihood need to be seen from the long-term angle, and considered from a strategic viewpoint. Also, when plans are made, they need to be firmly implemented. Otherwise, it may result in our attending to one thing at the expense of others and produce endless problems. Structural reform also requires a long-term plan.

Third, we must adhere firmly to the principle of self-reliance and building the country through thrift and hard work, while undergoing a few years of austerity.

Since the establishment of the PRC, our country's economy has seen very great development. However, seen from the per capita average output value and national income, our country is still a poor country. We need to adhere firmly to the principle of building the country through thrift and hard work. We need to run our factories industriously and thriftily, run all undertakings industriously and thriftily, develop resources, and save on circulation. We must economize on expenditures whenever possible and use these funds in areas where needed so as to promote the accelerated enrichment and strengthening of our country. High expenditure does not agree with our country's national situation and promoting high consumption is completely wrong. In the last few years, some areas have made wining and dining the order of the day. This has not only produced great waste, but has also harmed the party style and social atmosphere. The masses are very dissatisfied about this. During the period of the three years of difficulties, Comrade Zhou Enlai called on everyone to economize. At that time, I was working in the Hubei provincial committee and Comrade Mao Zedong came through quite often. However, regardless of whether it was Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai, or Comrade Xiaoping, it was always four dishes and one soup for the meal. We did not dare add any more dishes. We were not allowed to set out fruit and cigarettes in the house. The responsible comrades of the central authorities set the example and we also acted strictly in accordance with the words of those responsible comrades. We never violated the demands, because what was demanded was the right thing to do. Today, the central authorities have made repeated calls prohibiting entertaining and the sending of presents, but some people still do not act in accordance with the policies. The practice of using luxury materials to decorate houses likewise has not been completely ended. This is a very bad situation. Our country is still poor. For the last few years, because of economic overheating, there were successive financial deficits and the state has been in financial difficulties. The party Central Committee has noted that we will have to suffer a few years of austerity. In this respect, leading cadres must take the lead and educate their sons and daughters, relatives, and friends to act likewise.

We need to have a spirit of constantly striving to become stronger, must seek self-reliance and struggle arduously to build the cause. The implementation of the policy of opening to the outside is a long-term, unchanging policy of our country. In the overall period of improvement and rectification, we must utilize all the beneficial international conditions we can to overcome disadvantageous factors, so as to ensure that opening to the outside and improvement and rectification push each other forward. We must expand exports to earn foreign exchange, and continue to positively use foreign funds, import advanced technology, and strengthen scientific and technological exchanges with other countries. However, we must be sure about the fact that opening to the outside, importing technology, and developing foreign trade are all intended to develop a strong socialist economy, to

develop our own national industry, and to improve the standard of living of the people. We cannot do anything that harms national industry and even less can we give up national independence in exchange for charity from others. In the last few years, as macroeconomic management has been relaxed, there has been a serious situation of blind imports. There have been color-television set production lines, refrigerator production lines, washing machine production lines, pop-top can production lines, and so on. There have been so many such things imported. China has its own drinks and sheet metal is in short supply. Why do we need to have pop-top cans? Some hotels are even importing fruit. High-class cosmetics are continually flooding into China. Even some machinery, instruments, and meters that China can produce are being imported. Why is this? Our country is short of foreign exchange and it is difficult to earn foreign exchange. It must be used sparingly. In this respect, we must strengthen macroeconomic management and, more important, must develop the spirit of self-reliance, continued self-strengthening, and arduous struggle. At the same time, we must implement opening to the outside world. Only in this way can the country quickly become strong and win respect from the people of the world.

Fourth, we must administer the party firmly and strengthen the building of clean government.

We must firmly and basically eradicate the phenomenon of corruption which exists in party and government organs. As for those persons who are corrupt and receive bribes, on the one hand we need to strive for a road whereby people who confess are shown lenience. When the circumstances are not too serious, then as long as they make a frank confession and return all their illegal gains, they should in general not be punished, but should be truly forgiven. For major cases, involving serious criminal acts and people who are obstinate in their resistance, there must be firm treatment and they should be punished in accordance with the law. No one should shield or plead for mercy for those being punished. In the implementation of party discipline, government discipline, and laws, we certainly cannot be irresolute or soft-hearted. Without a good, pure party with a powerful combat capacity, there will be no hope of achieving socialist modernization.

The history of our party shows that no enemy, regardless of how strong, can overcome us. In the past, the imperialists used their guns, but were unable to overcome us. Now they want to use the method of "peaceful evolution" to "fight a battle without gunpowder" against the Communist Party and socialist countries, so as to "win without fighting" and so as to cause our party to change its nature, our state to change its hue, and thus to destroy both the party and the state. This is a challenge and also a test for our party. In the face of this acute struggle, every Communist Party member must raise his vigilance, heighten his fighting will, and firmly repulse and respond to the attacks by the sugar-coated bullets of the

reactionary forces! As long as we are firm, their conspiracy will certainly not achieve its goals. At the same time, it is hoped that friends outside the party will both assist and engage in supervision, as well as engage in joint, unwavering struggle against the attacks by the reactionary forces and completely smash their conspiracy.

Fifth, we must strengthen ideological and political work and persist, in a long-term way, in adherence to the four cardinal principles and the struggle to oppose bourgeois liberalization.

Reactionary forces at home and abroad are trying to use the method of "peaceful evolution" to overcome the Communist Party and to overcome our socialist country. One of the methods they use is to raise the call of "democracy, freedom, and human rights." This call is very pleasant to the ear and can seduce some people, but that which is camouflaged by what they say will be readily obvious to anyone with some basic knowledge of Marxism. Democracy and freedom have a class nature. There are essential differences between socialist freedom and capitalist freedom. The bourgeoisie has the freedom to exploit, while the proletariat, having lost the means of production, has only the freedom to be exploited. The bourgeoisie has the freedom to sack people when they feel like it and workers do not have the freedom to refuse to be fired. The United States is very rich, but it has a large number of unemployed. Those people wish to find employment, but the capitalists will not accept them. In our country, where public ownership is the main entity and the means of production are in the hands of the people, the laboring people have real democracy and real freedom. Our country's Constitution has specific stipulations on freedom, democracy, and human rights. The building of our country's democratic legal system must start from our country's reality, and be gradually advanced in a guided and sequential manner along a socialist orientation. Democracy and centralism are a unity of opposites, or two sides of the same question. There is both democracy under centralized leadership and centralism based on democracy. No society can just have democracy without centralism. Such a society cannot exist. Even when we reach communist society and states, and when political parties have died out, there will still be social organizations and appropriate centralization. Freedom and discipline are also like this. If one is to have freedom, one must have discipline. A school always has school rules and a factory always has factory rules. Can a communist society say that it wants the freedom of no disciplinary restraints? If every person has absolute freedom and does whatever he wants to do, this society will become a chaotic society and will be unable to survive and develop. At present, there are some young people who do not understand democracy and freedom and do not understand the real situation of capitalist society. Thus, we need to carry out patient, repeated, and positive education among the broad masses and especially among young people so as to raise their consciousness and enable them to gain some basic

knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, we need to criticize ideas of bourgeois liberalization. In the last few years, we have overlooked ideological and political work and, as Comrade Xiaoping has said, that is a major failing. We need to widely develop activities to study Lei Feng, sum up the good experiences of advanced models and advanced figures on all fronts, propagate their achievements and praise their actions, so that everyone will have a model for study. Thus will we create a huge promotional force. In brief, only by unifying, by exerting ourselves in struggle, and by doing well in improvement and rectification will there be great hopes for realizing the quadrupling goal set for the end of the century.

We Should Not Waver on the Principle of the Partisan Character of Philosophy

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[Article by Yao Xiu (1202 0128) of the CPC Central Party School]

[Text] Over the last few years, pleasing results have been achieved in research and exploration in domestic philosophical circles and in opening up and deepening the fields of vision and levels of research in philosophical theory. However, during the course of research, several tendencies have occurred that attempt to "transcend" the essential division between materialism and idealism and thereby bring into doubt or even negate the principle of the partisan character of philosophy. I believe that we need to analyze these tendencies to clarify right and wrong on the question of the basic theories of Marxist philosophy.

I. The Partisan Character of Philosophy Is a Basic Principle of Marxist Philosophy

Philosophy is a science with a partisan character. This is an idea which runs through the ideas of the writers of the Marxist classics. Back in the 1840's, Marx made the above exposition proceeding from the class purpose which runs through philosophy. In his "Introduction to *A Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*," he pointed out, in a deep-going way, the flesh-and-blood relationship between philosophy and the proletariat: "Philosophy has the proletariat as its own material weapon and in the same way the proletariat has philosophy as its own spiritual weapon."¹ In 1885, in the preface to the third edition of *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Engels said, "All historic struggles, whether they proceed in the political, religious, philosophical, or some other ideological domain, are in fact only more or less clear expressions of struggle between the various social classes."² In 1886, in *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, Engels engaged in an exposition stressing the dividing line of philosophy itself and clearly stated that the basic question in philosophy is the relationship between thinking and being and this divides philosophy into two major camps. He thereby set down

the sole scientific standard for dividing materialism and idealism. These ideas of Marx and Engels provided important ideological preparation for the principle of the partisan character of philosophy which Lenin was to establish later.

In the history of Marxist philosophy, Lenin was the first to clearly put forward the principle of the party character of philosophy. In *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*, which he wrote in 1908, he provided an overall elucidation of the partisan character of philosophy. Aimed at the "neutral" and "nonpartisan" attributes that the Machists claimed for themselves at that time, and the so-called "transcendence school" of philosophy, which strongly advocated "transcending" materialism and idealism, Lenin succinctly pointed out, "Recent philosophy is as partisan as was philosophy 2,000 years ago. The contending parties are essentially—although concealed by a pseudoerudite quackery of new terms and a weak-minded nonpartisanship—materialism and idealism."³ Here, Lenin fully reveals and criticizes the reactionary nature of Machism and of Bogdanov, its chief adherent in Russia, for the hypocrisy, under the cover of new terms and bizarre theories (such as "coordination," "introjection," "empirio-monism," and so on), in furtively utilizing idealism and opposing materialism and their efforts to transcend the so-called "one-sidedness" of materialism and idealism and establish a new line. At the same time, Lenin pointed out that the struggle of parties in philosophy, that is, the struggle between materialism and idealism, "in the final analysis, reflects the tendencies and ideology of the antagonistic classes in modern society."⁴ That is to say, any philosophical school is a theoretical manifestation of the class interests of a certain class and serves a certain class. Here, "the tendencies and ideology of the antagonistic classes in modern society" refer to materialism generally representing the interests of the proletariat and idealism representing the interests of the bourgeoisie.

In brief, Lenin's exposition on the principle of the partisan character of philosophy included the following two basic levels of meaning: First, philosophy has parties and schools. That is, no philosophy can transcend the basic question of philosophy, and materialism and idealism are the two basic schools that have always existed in the history of philosophy. "Partisan character," also called "factional character," refers to the two major philosophical schools of materialism and idealism and, thus, these terms are essentially different in principle from the political parties spoken of in politics and their party character. Second, philosophy has a class nature. Modern materialism (that is, dialectical materialism) and idealism manifest the interests and ideology of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and thus have definite class attributes. Of the two above-mentioned levels of basic meaning, the first level is the most basic because it directly carries on and develops the important ideas of Engels on the basic questions of philosophy.

The partisan character of philosophy is a basic principle of Marxist philosophy. First, it reveals the basic stands of

the various philosophical schools, and their differences, and provides us with a basic thread for examining the development of philosophy and a basic standard for assessing the essence of the various schools of philosophy. In the history of philosophy, various schools of thought have been established and these have been of many types and forms. This diversity is especially evident and dazzling in modern Western philosophy. However, only if we use the principle of the partisan character of philosophy to guide us in carrying out analyses, will we be able to extract from the confused situation the basic facts of the mutual antagonism between materialism and idealism and clearly understand the essence of the philosophies of the various schools. Second, the principle of the partisan character of philosophy reveals the political tendencies and class nature of all philosophy. As a form of social consciousness, philosophy has various direct and indirect links with politics and with class. Marxist philosophy declares openly that it is the world view of the proletariat. However, some bourgeois schools of philosophy, to cover up their links with definite class interests and political attitudes, often consider themselves to "transcend class" and "transcend politics." Modern Western philosophy in particular is of this type. Thus, only by taking the principle of the partisan character of philosophy as the basic yardstick is it possible to reveal the links between diverse philosophical schools and definite classes and politics and grasp their class nature. Further, the principle of the partisan character of philosophy points out for us the initial point of departure we must make clear in actual work. This involves the choice between the idealist ideological line, which proceeds from adherence to subjective wishes, and the materialist ideological line, which proceeds from adherence to objective reality. Thus, over the last few decades the principle of the partisan characteristic of philosophy has been a major guiding principle in our theoretical research on Marxist philosophy and, in particular, in the examination and analysis of the various philosophical schools.

II. The Principle of the Partisan Character of Philosophy Is an Important Theoretical Weapon in the Current Differentiation and Analysis of the Various Philosophical Trends

Some people may ask: It is now over 80 years since Lenin put forward the principle of the partisan character of philosophy. At present, Western society, while not changing its basic system, is seeing major changes and, following these changes, modern Western philosophy is also changing its views. One of the more prominent aspects of this change is that more research is being directed at language, logic, actions, and the nature, values, and freedom of man, and other such questions. All materialism and idealism is referred to as "metaphysical" and "rejected," negating the basic question of philosophy. In such a situation, does the principle of the partisan character of philosophy still have significance? Doubts arise from this.

Has the principle of the partisan character of philosophy "become outdated"? I believe that not only has the principle of the partisan character of philosophy not become outdated, but, quite the opposite, it is still the major theoretical weapon for distinguishing and analyzing the various types of philosophical trends and their viewpoints.

Certainly since the beginning of the century, and especially since World War II, in modern Western philosophy, schools have proliferated and trends of thought have emerged in an endless stream. In terms of research topics, structures, methods, and styles, there have been many new characteristics that classical Western philosophy did not have. However, seen in terms of the basic lines of philosophy, they do have a common theoretical characteristic. That is, in answering the question of the nature of the world, the majority of these schools of philosophy reject the materialism of classical bourgeois philosophy and inherit the idealist aspects. Further, they generally maintain a negative attitude on the basic question of philosophy. The major modes they adopt are: 1) Abolition. The various philosophical schools of scientism generally advocate the abolition of philosophical ontology and, hoisting the "reject metaphysics" banner, they advertise themselves as a "central line" which "transcends" materialism and idealism. Logical positivists, such as Carnap and Shrike [shi li ke 4258 6849 0344], held that the question of the nature of the world was of no significance and should be dispensed with. 2) Establishing different ideas. Although the various humanist schools of philosophy all stress research into ontology, they also oppose traditional "metaphysics" and advocate the establishment of a new "ontology," that is, an artificial ontology, for studying the nature, freedoms, values, and aims of man and other questions. For example, existentialism proposes an "ontology of existence" for studying individual existence. 3) Distortion. Western Marxists generally condemn Engels' scientific judgment on the basic question of philosophy as violating Marxism and only being in accord with the history of philosophy before the emergence of Marxism. They either oppose taking the basic question of philosophy as the standard for dividing materialism from idealism, and preach that this is "outdated," or they use materialism "with different meaning" to attack dialectical materialism.

On the surface, Western philosophy under the banner of "rejecting metaphysics" tries to transcend the essential division between materialism and idealism. However, actually it has not left the tracks of idealism. Regardless of whether it says that "experience," "elements," or "events" are the basis of all things, or whether it takes "will," "life," or "character" as the source of the world, it basically negates the material nature of the objective world and thus is unable to transcend the idealist category. Of course, we cannot deny that there are some materialist elements in the ideas of some Western philosophers and some philosophers have begun to shift toward materialism. However, overall, modern Western

philosophy is idealist and, further, as the theoretical system of the modern Western bourgeois world view, it has clear class attributes and political attitudes. This is our basic appraisal of contemporary foreign bourgeois philosophy based on the principle of the party character of philosophy.

In the process of exploring practical materialism [shi jian wei wu zhu yi 1395 6432 0787 3670 0031 5030] some people have tried to transcend materialism and idealism. For example, some comrades hold that Marx's viewpoint of practice achieves a unity between materialism and idealism, resolves the long-term intense antithesis and contradictions, and thereby transcends materialism and idealism. They also hold that materialism and idealism are antagonistic forms only when the development of philosophy reaches a certain stage, and the contention between them is not something of long-term significance. They see practical materialism as a "transcendence" of these. There are even people who advocate the abolition of the surplus "suffix" of "materialism" in "practical materialism." This sort of "transcending theory" viewpoint, which is divorced from the basic stand of Marxist philosophy, must be sternly criticized. We believe that Marxist philosophy has the viewpoint of practice as its prime basic viewpoint and that it stresses transformation of the existing world through social practice. A practical nature is the basic attribute of Marxist philosophy. "The philosophers have only interpreted the world; the point however is to change it."⁵ The combining of the viewpoint of practice and materialism is the starting point of revolutionary change in philosophy. In *The German Ideology*, the "materialism of practice" spoken of by Marx is this sort of materialism, which has the viewpoint of practice as its base. On the one hand, he paid great attention to the mutual roles of man and nature and of subject and object on the base of practice and stressed the dynamic nature of the subject, thus overcoming the direct-perception nature of old materialism.

On the other hand, on the basis of materialism, he spoke of the position and role of materialism and, under the precondition of affirming the material noumenon, stressed the dynamic nature of the subject and drew a clear dividing line between this and the idealist view of practice. Thus, practical materialism takes just the essence and discards the dross of all former philosophies, and its nature is not one which transcends the principle of the partisan character of philosophy. Much less can we say that it negates the essence of materialism. The view which holds that practical materialism has already "transcended" the antithesis between materialism and idealism and advocates abolishing the "suffix" of materialism is clearly erroneous.

In the same way, the question of the relationship between thinking and being is the eternal question of philosophy. As long as philosophy exists, this question will continue to exist. This is because philosophy is essentially an overall mode of grasping the relationship between man and the world. It is the highest abstraction of the nature of the world. This question will always

remain one that philosophers cannot avoid. It is the basic precondition for resolving the other questions of philosophy. Of course, in different ages the forms of manifestation of the basic question of philosophy can be varied and diverse, and the angle of study can continuously change. However we cannot, on that basis, negate the basic question of philosophy itself. The view that holds that the debate between materialism and idealism on the nature of the world is not eternal, is untenable.

III. We Cannot Waver in Our Adherence to the Principle of the Partisan Character of Philosophy

As the principle of the partisan character of philosophy is the basic principle of Marxist philosophy, and because the principle of the partisan characteristic of philosophy is still our major ideological weapon in distinguishing and analyzing the various philosophical schools, then we must adhere to and not doubt or negate the principle of the partisan character of philosophy. At present, in adherence to the four cardinal principles, and in the struggle to oppose the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization, reaffirming the principle of the partisan character of philosophy has major practical significance.

How are we to uphold the principle of the partisan character of philosophy? I believe that this involves mainly the following several aspects:

1. We should uphold the partisan stand of Marxist philosophy itself. First, we need to unequivocally uphold the basic orientation of dialectical materialism and clearly distinguish the basic philosophical line from the various erroneous philosophical trends. Certainly, Marxist philosophy is a scientific theoretical system firmly based and oriented on the opening up and development of the world. It should study the new situations and new questions in the contemporary world and draw in all positive, beneficial, and rational elements of modern Western philosophy in order to enrich and develop itself. The practice of simply negating and excluding modern Western philosophy is inadequate. However, at the same time we must uphold the principle of the party character of Marxist philosophy and use a Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method to analyze, distinguish, and criticize the ideological trends of Western bourgeois philosophy and consciously resist attacks on Marxist philosophy by decadent, backward, and even reactionary ideas that such ideological trends contain. Further, there is a need to engage in firm and uncompromising struggle against those erroneous ideological trends which, under the pretext of new changes in contemporary capitalist society, attempt to replace and negate Marxist philosophy. At present, we must firmly criticize and struggle against those mistaken views which, under the banner of "development" and "innovation," basically negate Marxist philosophy. These include views such as those that hold that the idea of the primary nature of the material and the secondary nature of consciousness is mechanical materialism; those that try to use development epistemology [fa sheng ren shi lun 4099 3932 6126 6221 6158] to replace the theory of

reflection; those that use the abstract theory of human nature to negate the materialist theory of modes of social production; and calls to "reconstruct" historical materialism, and so on.

Further, we must uphold the class stand of Marxist philosophy. Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the world views of the proletariat, the ideological banners of hundreds of millions of laborers, and the "great epistemological tools" that they hold in their hands. The class attributes of Marxist philosophy determine that it must serve the basic interests of the proletariat and must serve the needs of building the socialist and communist cause. It also demands firm struggle against all those various erroneous ideological viewpoints that go against the basic interests of the proletariat and harm the socialist cause. In the sphere of world view, there is no leeway, and there can be no leeway, for compromise. "The only choice is: Either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course."⁶ At the same time, Marxist philosophy is the world view and methodological basis for the program, strategy, tactics, policies, and practical actions of the communist parties and workers parties of all countries. The political line of Marxism has always, and on all questions, had a close relationship with its philosophical principles. The formulation and implementation of the line, principles, and policies of our country's socialist revolution and construction cannot deviate even slightly from the guidance of Marxist philosophy. The theory proposed by our party of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and the practice of reform and opening up and socialist modernization over the last 10 years, have powerfully proved the major guiding significance of Marxist philosophy. Recently, the party Central Committee has required strengthened study of Marxist theory and stressed that the key task at present is studying philosophy. Their importance undoubtedly lies in this.

2. Regarding all philosophical theories and philosophical schools, we should take the principle of the partisan nature of philosophy as the basic yardstick for distinguishing and assessing them. We have to analyze their answer to the basic question of philosophy, find out whether their basic orientation is materialist or idealist, and discover which of their viewpoints are materialist and which are idealist. Only thus will we be able to escape being confounded by various surface phenomena and dazzling words and be able to basically grasp their theoretical nature. For example, through carrying out, in accordance with the principle of the partisan character of philosophy, deep analyses of contemporary foreign positivist philosophies that advocate "rejection of metaphysics," we have found that, behind some "tricky words" and "overelaborate terminology," what they actually implement is a subjective idealist epistemology line that proceeds from perception and the spirit to the material. Their claims to "transcendence," "nonpartisan nature," "neutral philosophy," and other such subterfuges, are nothing more than camouflage for their idealism. In the same way, the principle of the partisan

character of philosophy is also suited to use in analysis of the philosophical "crazes" such as subjectivity that have appeared in the country over the last few years. At first, stressing the role of the subject in the epistemological process was beyond criticism and even had positive significance as, in the past, research in this area by our country's philosophical circles was certainly insufficient. However, if on this basis we stress excessively the functions of "construction" and "choice" by the cognitive subject, and thus negate objective laws and declare that we should "lift high the banner of subjectivity," then we will be falling into a morass of error.

Of course, in the past, under the influence of the ultraleft ideological trends, it was the case that the principle of the partisan character of philosophy was an ossified formula which was wildly applied everywhere, and there was the simplistic and arbitrary application of the materialist and idealist labels to various philosophical schools. These were misunderstandings of the principle of the partisan character of philosophy and such practices must be overcome. However, we cannot give up eating for fear of choking or proceed to the other extreme and negate the principle of the partisan character of philosophy.

3. As for any ideological system, we should analyze it in conjunction with contemporary political and economic systems and with its particular class relationships and clearly understand its class nature. This is also a basic demand of the principle of the partisan character of philosophy. In brief, Western philosophies, classical and modern, as specific ideologies of the bourgeoisie are intended to safeguard the interests and requirements of the bourgeoisie and thus have a clear class nature. However, when analyzing the class attributes of modern Western philosophies, apart from looking at their common aspect as world views of the bourgeoisie, and the basic difference between them and Marxist philosophy, which is the proletarian world view, we also need to look at how the differences between the schools of modern Western philosophy manifest the demands of the different strata of the bourgeoisie at different times. We even need to carry out concrete analysis of the ideas of every philosopher on the basis of the individual's actual situation. We certainly cannot adopt a simplistic, absolutist method.

In the last few years, in the process by which our country has carried out reform and opening up, many new things and new concepts have been drawn in from contemporary foreign philosophy, and many Western academic monographs have been translated and published. This has given rise to the situation of unprecedented vitality in our country's theoretical circles and publishing circles. This is certainly a good thing and has been of benefit in developing Marxism. However, as we have overlooked the class analysis method of Marxism and overlooked the principle of the partisan character of philosophy, after the great inflow of Western ideological tides, we did not properly distinguish, analyze, study, and criticize them, or differentiate the dross from the essence. In particular, we did not earnestly carry out the work of

providing guidance to young people, leading to a situation where, when faced with the "Sartre craze," the "Freud craze," and the "Nietzsche craze," many young people just engaged in blind worship. They felt that the ideas of these Western philosophers were higher than Marxist philosophy and this situation provided an avenue for some mistaken ideas and even bourgeois liberalization to flood in. Now, engaging in serious reflection, we must say that this was a profound lesson. This powerfully shows from one angle how important it is, at the same time as opening up to the outside world, to positively engage in struggle in the ideological sphere, to uphold the principle of the partisan character of philosophy and to consciously resist gaining Western bourgeois ideas by osmosis!

In brief, the principle of the partisan character of philosophy is a basic principle of Marxist philosophy. We must at all times uphold this principle without wavering.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 1, p. 15.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 602.
3. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 365.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 365.
5. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 1, p. 19.
6. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 1, p. 256.

What Did They Advocate?—Comment on the Book *The Moment of Awakening*

HK2304044490 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 90 pp 24-27, 34

[Comparison of RENMIN RIBAO OVERSEAS EDITION
version published in FBIS-CHI-90-078-S, 23 Apr 90]

Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No. 7, published on 1 April, carries on pages 24-27 and 34 a 6,000-character article by Hu Jiwei entitled "What Did They Advocate?—Comment on the Book *The Moment of Awakening*." This text has been compared with the RENMIN RIBAO OVERSEAS EDITION version published in the 23 April China DAILY REPORT (FBIS-CHI-90-078-S) and found to be identical, except for the following variations:

Page 3, column two, first partial paragraph, fifth sentence in the QIUSHI version reads: It seemed that even today, they still lived like the "democratic champions" in the feudalist-autocratic [feng jian zhuan zhi 1409 1696 1413 0455] period of the May Fourth Movement, and still had to "urgently call for" democracy and "call

for" making up the lesson that was not completed 70 years ago during the May Fourth Movement. (adding word)

Page 3, column two, first full paragraph, fifth sentence reads: In the article "On New Enlightenment," Ruan Ming said: The May Fourth Movement "did not fulfill the enlightenment mission of realizing democracy and science in China," "not because the new 'severed' the old but because the new failed to defeat the old and was swallowed up or assimilated by the old. (adding words)

Page 3, column two, first full paragraph, last sentence reads: He even said: "In the birthplace of the Renaissance and the religious revolution, there appeared the fascism of Mussolini and Hitler; in the birthplace of the October Revolution, there appeared Stalinism; what about China, where the feudalist Middle Ages lasted for the longest time and the autocratic system developed to the most perfect degree?" (adding word)

Page 4, column two, first full paragraph, fourth sentence reads: However, they were disappointed that the majority of the Chinese people refused to accept the Western democratic tradition they advocated and few people supported their ideas while many opposed them, because the Chinese people loved their socialist motherland and they could personally feel the warmth and glory brought to them by the motherland's independence and self-strengthening. (adding words)

Page 4, column two, last partial paragraph, first sentence reads: In the course of "establishing" the "democracy theory," "news freedom" was an important component part. (changing wording)

Page 5, column one, first partial paragraph, fourth sentence reads: Before and after the discussion of the criterion for truth, he "was really awakened" and began to make "various disobedient explorations" by defying the erroneous leadership of those at the central level in charge of propaganda work. (changing wording)

Page 6, column one, only paragraph, sixth sentence reads: Everyone knows that before and after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, a time when our party tried hard to criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in order to bring order out of chaos, within the party and in society there appeared a trend of bourgeois liberalization thought, which opposed the four cardinal principles or preached skepticism. (changing wording)

Page 6, column two, last partial paragraph, third sentence reads: But just by looking at these, we see the trend of bourgeois liberalization thought in the ideological and theoretical fields has developed to a shocking extent. (changing wording)

Page 6, column two, last partial paragraph, fourth sentence reads: We remember that in 1987, as soon as the struggle against bourgeois liberalization thought started,

it was reversed by Comrade Zhao Ziyang, the then party general secretary. (changing wording)

Page 6, column two, last partial paragraph, seventh sentence reads: They openly preached in the book that if in the spring of 1987 "dogmatism wins this time, it would mean another major retrogression of the history of China and a big disaster for the Chinese people. (changing wording)

Page 6, column two, last partial paragraph, 10th sentence reads: Over the past 10 years, we have not persistently upheld the four cardinal principles, and there have been ups and downs in the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, to the extent that bourgeois liberalization thought—including the essays in "The Moment of Awakening"—has run rampant. (changing wording)

Page 6, column two, last partial paragraph, 11th sentence reads: The ideological and theoretical chaos, which have accumulated for years, led to the turmoil and counter-revolutionary rebellion in late spring of last year. (changing wording)

The Masses of People Are the Source of the Party's Strength and the Foundation of Victory

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[Article by He Yiting (0149 3015 0080)]

[Text] A highly important issue encountered by a ruling Marxist party is how to earnestly strengthen in practice its connection with the masses. It is also a basic question that must be solved well by the CPC in its current construction, to which the masses are paying close attention. The fact that Sixth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee adopted the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Strengthening the Connection with the Masses" reflected the strong aspirations and ardent expectations of the masses. It is the first time in the history of the CPC that the decision on strengthening the party-masses relations was made by the CPC Central Committee. This indicates that the CPC Central Committee, which takes Comrade Jiang Zemin as the key figure, attaches great importance to and is determined to handle this issue. It may be said that the process of making this decision is a reflection in itself of the extent of importance attached to party-masses relations, and is a good start for further strengthening party-masses relations under the new situation. If we seriously implement this decision, it is certain that we shall play a very important role in restoring and promoting the flesh-and-blood relations between the party and the masses, in strengthening and improving the party's leadership, in unifying and mobilizing all nationalities throughout China to struggle hard in the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

**Whether We Can Maintain and Promote
Flesh-and-Blood Relations With the Masses Directly
Determines the Rise and Fall of the Party and the State**

The masses are the creators of history, as well as the decisive force that pushes history forward. By using the basic viewpoints of historical materialism, the CPC established and developed through long-term struggles the mass line of acting for the sake of the masses, relying in everything on the masses, and from the masses and to the masses. This is the basic line of work for realizing the ideological, political, and organizational lines of the party; and is a fine tradition and political advantage of the party. History has repeatedly showed that the party-masses relations were closely maintained, and the party's undertakings were smoothly carried out whenever the mass line of the party was implemented well; and that party-masses relations turned sour and the party's undertakings suffered setbacks whenever it was not.

Realities have indicated that peaceful evolution and anti-"peaceful evolution" are currently the major form of struggle between capitalism and socialism. To hit at peaceful evolution is a historical task for consolidating and developing socialism. Recently, there have been sudden changes in the international political arena. From start to finish, China has unswervingly upheld and perfected the socialist system. As this is a matter concerning the destiny and prospects of China, it is of great importance. The coming decade is the key period in China's development, as well as the period in which the people of China will advance bravely along the line of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The CPC is unifying and leading all nationalities across China to implement the basic line of the party, to promote the socialist modernizations, to intensify reforms, to expand the scale of opening up, and to realize the strategic goal of redoubling the GNP by the turn of this century, so that the socialist system will be built on a more solid material basis. Only when we earnestly strengthen the relations between the party and the masses, strengthen the unifying power and fighting capacity of the party, and give full play to the role of the masses in taking initiative in their own history, as well as to their innovative spirit, can we successfully accomplish these tasks.

Does the present status of party-masses relations conform to the historical task being undertaken by the party? It should be said that the present status basically, but not completely, conforms to the task. Having said that, we mean that our party has, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, formulated and carried out a party line of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, as well as a number of important principles and policies, so that the people have gained actual benefits, and the results are basically satisfactory. We also mean that an absolute majority of the party members and cadres are honest, diligent, and conscientiously serve the people; and that the Communist Party has already taken root among the masses. Therefore, the relations between the party and the masses, and those

between cadres and the masses are generally good. If we ignore this basic assessment, and think that party-masses relations are a mess, it will be impossible for us to explain how China made such world-famous achievements in its construction and reforms over the past 10 years, and how the Communist Party led the people to maintain a stable situation by checking the disturbance and quelling the counterrevolutionary turmoil in a determined manner. Also, we shall unconsciously prejudge against or negate the great achievements made through innovative and practical activities by the party organizations at all levels by unifying the party members, and by giving guidance to the masses. Obviously, this does not conform to reality. Saying that the current status does not completely conform to the tasks, we mean that the phenomena of corruption such as abuse of power for personal gain, and acts of malfeasance, bribery, corruption, speculation, nepotism, and extravagance were indeed developed and widespread. Some of these cases were so serious that it reached a chaotic state. We also mean that the work styles of bureaucratism, commandism, subjectivism, and formalism have become more popular among some party and government organs, and among party members and cadres. And we mean that we made mistakes when giving guidance over our specific work, and when carrying out certain specific policies and measures. All these phenomena have weakened in varying degrees the flesh-and-blood relations between the party and the masses, undermined the party's prestige among the masses, and hindered implementation of the party line. Thus, the masses and cadres are worried, feel discontented, and are filled with indignation, which has become a social and political problem posing a serious threat to our work of unification and stability, and our work of construction and reforms. A reason that, when spring was changing into summer last year, so many people and young students were involved in the disturbance is closely related to the existence of such corruption in the party, which cut the party off from the masses. If we did not thoroughly understand these phenomena and their threats, it would be difficult for us to adopt any effective measures to solve them. The threats would become more serious and it would be more difficult to solve them if we allowed things to develop in their course. It is just as the saying goes that the wind that blows out candles kindles the fire. If the ruling Communist Party cuts itself off from the masses, it will invite calamity, or will even be forced to step down. With similar examples around, how can we pay no attention to this!

**To Ensure That the Implementation and Formulation of
Decisions Are in Favor of the People Is the Primary
Issue of Improving Party-Masses Relations**

The CPC is the ruling party and assumes leadership over the whole country and our social life. To formulate and implement decisions are the most important aspect of manifestation of the leadership by the party. Whether or not the formulation and the implementation of the decisions are correct is closely related to the interests of

the people, and, to a very large extent, influences party-masses relations. This is particularly true for decisions on important matters; those on the party line, principles, and policies; and those on matters concerning high-level leadership. Therefore, we must act very carefully and avoid careless acts when making a decision.

What are the basis and criteria for making a decision? The nature of the party that it is the vanguard of the working class, and its purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people determines that the formulation and implementation of a decision must conform to the interests of the majority, and must aim at winning the full support of the majority. This is also the supreme criterion for judging the correctness of a decision, as well as the implementation of such decision, by the party. Generally speaking, it has been successfully carried out in recent years in this respect. The party's basic line, principles, and policies are correct and help maintain stability and continuity, so that the people have benefited and feel satisfied. At the same time, there were shortcomings and mistakes in certain specific policies and measures when we gave guidance over the actual work several years ago. For example, when guiding the actual work, we sometime took a lenient attitude, and then a tough one, toward problems; did not consistently and unswervingly uphold the four cardinal principles and the education in opposing bourgeois liberalism and the struggle against it; seriously ignored the party's construction, ideological and political work, and the construction of spiritual civilization; took a lenient attitude toward ideological and political education; and so forth. In another example, when reforming the excessively and rigidly centralized economic system, we ignored the need to centralize in the necessary areas, ignored the need to maintain an overall balance and to strengthen the macroeconomic readjustment, were impatient for success in construction and reforms, and widened the gap in income levels to an irrational level as a result of our distribution of income, so that the people felt discontented. The initiative of the workers, cadres, and intellectuals was hampered. As a result, the internal unity of the people and social stability were undermined, as were party-masses relations. Though some of these mistakes and shortcomings were unavoidable, some could have been avoided or could have been rectified immediately after they were found, so that losses could have been minimized. The key that we neither avoided nor immediately rectified the mistakes and shortcomings though they have been avoided or rectified was that we deviated from the party's mass line, that democratic centralism was not seriously implemented, and that the system of surveillance by the masses and that of rectification of mistakes, were neither perfect nor seriously carried out, so that the aspirations and wishes of the people were not properly reflected. Let's take the example of the practice of taking a lenient attitude, and then a tough one, toward problems. The cadres, people carrying out the ideological and political work, and the masses had long criticized this obvious mistake, and urged the authorities through various channels to rectify it. However, the situation

became so severe that there was a flood of the thinking of bourgeois liberation; and it continue to develop until last year when the disturbance and Beijing's counterrevolutionary turmoil took place, and until the interests of the people and the state were seriously undermined. What a profound lesson it was!

On the implementation of policies, there are mainly two kinds of erroneous tendencies. The first is that some localities and units judge their acts in terms of their personal or factional interests instead of the interests of the people, carry out only the party's principles and policies that are favorable to them, and work out countermeasures for measures adopted by the higher authorities, so that the purpose of formulating such policies is defeated or that policies are not implemented. The other tendency is that, when implementing policies, they simply issue administrative orders and take a crude work style, instead of carrying out propaganda or explanation work among the masses on the policies that they are implementing, so that the masses neither understand the party's policies nor voluntarily carry them out. One of the important reasons for this situation is that some localities and units fail to really implement certain good policies although they conform to the people's interests.

Therefore, in order to ensure that the formulation and implementation of policies conform to the people's interests and in order to maintain close relations between the party and the people, we must uphold the practice of being from the masses and to the masses, establish and perfect the procedures for making and implementing democratic and scientific decisions, so that the formulation and implementation of decisions will become a process that pools the wisdom of the masses, has a scientific basis, and is guaranteed by the system. This requires us to consider thoroughly, to conduct full-scale investigation and study, to listen to opinions from all walks of life, and to repeatedly compare, identify, and prove these opinions when formulating policies and measures, drafting work plans, and making decisions on important matters, so that the wisdom and correct opinions of the masses will become the basis for decisionmaking. For matters that have a direct influence on the immediate interests of the masses, we may first carry out experiments before a decision is made, and avoid making a decision in a hasty manner. In accordance with the provisions of the party charter, party organizations at all levels must, in the course of decisionmaking, adhere strictly to democratic centralism as well as to the system of central leadership, and exercise correct centralization on the basis of giving full play to democracy. Any decision on important matters must be made by voting on the basis of one man, one vote, and on the basis that the minority is subordinate to the majority and that no one is allowed to act arbitrarily. For matters subject to discussion, we must give full play to the functions of investigation and the roles of consultation organizations before making decisions. In the event that leading cadres at different levels violate the process of making decisions in a democratic

and scientific manner or that they make arbitrary decisions on major matters and bring serious political and economic losses as a result of mistakes committed by them, they should be held accountable, and should be seriously dealt with.

The system of people's congresses is the basic political system of China. Through the people's congresses, the people exercise state power in a centralized manner, which is the essence of China's system of people's congresses. The people's congresses are not only a legislative organ, but also the organ of state power that has the authority to formulate laws, make decisions on major issues, and establish the executive, judicial, and procuratorial organs. They have the right to remove the responsible personnel of these organs. Therefore, we should strengthen and improve the work of the people's congresses at all levels and attach great importance to their role in the process of making decisions. Views of the party on any important issues that are subject to decisions by the state should be turned into the wishes of the state by the people's congresses, and the governments in accordance with legislative procedures. Party organizations, as well as all party members, must behave within the scope provided in the Constitution and laws, and act strictly in accordance with the law. The multiparty cooperation led by the CPC, as well as the system of political consultation, is a basic political system of China. Under this system, the democratic parties fully cooperate with the Communist Party. They are the ruling party and are not parties out of office or the opposite parties. We should strengthen the construction of this system, maintain close relations between various democratic parties and the people of various nationalities, and uphold the practice of giving notice to and consulting with them before we make decisions on important issues, so as to safeguard the right of democratic surveillance by members of the democratic parties and nonparty people. Trade unions, the CYL [Communist Youth League], the women's federation, and other mass organizations are bridges and links of party-masses relations. We should often listen to their reports and suggestions on the actual situation and attach great importance to their roles in democratic participation and democratic surveillance in our administration of state and social affairs.

When a decision is made, leading organs and leading cadres at all levels should act according to the actual situation and take the lead in its implementation. They should uphold mobilize and organize the masses through the practice of issuing general calls and specific guidance and of promoting work in all areas by drawing upon experience gained at key points. Under no circumstances must they carry out their work by adopting varied indigenous approaches and arbitrary methods, or they will be seriously dealt with. In the course of implementing decisions, they should strengthen the work of propaganda and explanation, as well as ideological and political work, among the masses. They should closely depend on the masses, constantly prove the practicality

of their work, and promptly sum up their experience so as to perfect themselves, rectify discrepancies in their work, and prevent their minor mistakes from growing into major ones.

To Resolutely Overcome the Phenomenon of Corruption in the Party Is a Strategic Measure for Maintaining Close Party-Masses Relations and Guaranteeing That the Party Is in an Invincible Position

The phenomenon and perils of corruption in the party are obvious. It is absolutely appropriate and comprehensible that cadres within and outside the party, as well as the masses, feel discontented and are filled with indignation. At the same time, we should realize in a truth-seeking manner that, in struggling against the phenomena of corruption, the CPC has been making a clear-cut stand, is always on the side of the masses, and insists on making unremitting efforts in this respect. Right after the work of opening up and reform was started, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward that we must grasp it from two aspects. On the one hand, we should grasp the work of reforming and opening up; and, on the other, we should grasp the work of hitting at serious economic crimes and criminal activities. Comrade Chen Yun also pointed out that problems of party style had great importance on the life and death of the ruling party. In order to check the spread of the phenomenon of corruption, the party has, over these years, promulgated a series of decisions and measures, set up some rules and regulations, and dealt with a number of cases of violation of law and discipline. After the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, the collective of central leadership headed by Comrade Jiang Zemin has adopted a series of new measures and spent great efforts on implementing the work in accordance with the principle of starting the work with the CPC Central Committee and of proceeding from realities. It has handled some major and important cases and has punished a number of criminals and people who committed corrupt and evil acts. This thus shocked those who paid attention to neither party discipline nor laws, and educated as well as saved some comrades who committed mistakes. It should be said that we have made achievements in the struggle against corruption. Judging from the overall situation, the phenomenon of corruption in the party is constantly checked and defeated and there has been a turn for the better in party style, political work style, and the general mood of society. Under no circumstances may the phenomenon of corruption become the mainstream of the party life within the long-tested CPC, which always struggles together and shares weal and woe with the masses. It will be impractical for one to ignore the Communist Party's clear-cut stand, determined attitude toward, and powerful strength in opposing corruption or to disregard its achievements. Furthermore, this will undermine the people's confidence in the work. It is also very harmful as this will not only be unable to check the spread of corruption, but also encourage such acts. At the same time, we must realize that we must not overestimate the results of our construction of the party style, and an

honest government; and those of the struggle against corruption. There are still many problems in this respect, and some of them are very serious. Every Communist Party member must first start the work with themselves and overcome from now on the pessimistic attitude of blaming everything and everyone but oneself, and get rid of the wait-and-see attitude. They must conscientiously act in an honest and impartial manner and be determined to struggle against the phenomenon of corruption. Party members and leaders should play an exemplary role in this respect. If we allow the phenomenon of corruption to spread wide, there will be the risk that the party will develop in the direction of self-destruction.

There are a variety of reasons for the development of corruption in the party. Under the conditions of reform, opening up, and commodity economic development, all kinds of thinking that judge everything in money terms easily spread wide and far. People who stubbornly supported the stand of bourgeois liberalism propagated not only the bourgeois political viewpoint, but also the corrupt bourgeois thinking and way of living. The feudal "special privilege" mentality of the past still had an extensive influence on the party and on social life. As the imperfect legal system, policies, and measures did not catch up with the commodity economic development, there were many weak points in the work of supervision within and outside the party. Therefore, we must have a sense of urgency, have a determined attitude, and be prepared to wage an unremitting struggle when we fight against corruption. At present, party organizations at all levels must tackle and arrange the work for the lower level in accordance with the principle, requirements, and measures for fighting against corruption, as well as strengthening the construction of an honest government. The leadership should take the lead in not indulging in empty talk and should do well in the work in a down-to-earth manner. On the basis of conducting thorough investigations, they should work out the steps, means, and measures for solving their own phenomena of corruption in party organizations. They must ensure that everyone adopts a serious attitude toward the rules and regulations, and laws of the state, in this respect, so that they can handle every case and check every unhealthy tendency whenever it takes place. Whoever takes bribes and bends the law must be resolutely dealt with and we must avoid taking a lenient attitude toward the work of checking and rectifying such cases. We must seriously punish those who commit further mistakes even though they are subject to rectification, or who commit the same mistakes again and again. We should resolutely deal with people who commit prevailing acts of corruption no matter how great their number is. When a locality or unit has indulged in corrupt acts for a long period and the situation continues despite rectification and checking, the authorities at the upper level should hold the responsible persons accountable. When we persistently carry out this approach, it is certain that we shall effectively check the phenomenon of corruption and party style will

be sharply improved, and that the CPC can stand the test of ruling the state, reforming and opening up, and will be in an invincible position.

Only When Bureaucratism Is Overcome Can We Really Establish the Fine Work Style of Maintaining Close Relations Between the Party and the Masses

The work style of maintaining close relations between the party and the masses has been a distinctive style of the party of the working class. The party adopts the Marxist viewpoint on mass line, that is, the viewpoint that the masses are the creators of history, the viewpoint of learning from the masses, the viewpoint of serving the people wholeheartedly, the viewpoint that the power of cadres is entrusted by the people, and the viewpoint that one's responsibility to the party is in keeping with his responsibility to the masses. It takes as its basis the thinking that it is necessary for the party to educate and guide the masses to make progress while it depends on the masses. It also takes as the starting point the practice of pursuing benefits for the absolute majority. On the other hand, the bureaucratic work style is, in essence, the work style of the exploiting class, the work style of feudal government offices, which took vestiges of the feudal thinking and bourgeois thinking as the basis of its ideology, and it eventually brings about evil results such as undermining the party-masses relations and adversely affecting the cause of the party. Therefore, the work style of maintaining close relations between the party and the masses basically conflicts with that of bureaucratism and develops at the expense of the other. We must establish the Marxist viewpoint on the masses and be determined to overcome the bureaucratic work style, in order to further maintain close relations between the party and the masses.

At present, the main manifestations of bureaucratic work style among the leading cadres in some party and government organs are: 1) They stand high above the masses, are satisfied with the work of issuing orders, are boastful, do not understand the situation of the grassroots, and care not about the sufferings of the masses and it is often the case that "one can hardly enter the office, feels very embarrassed, finds no one to talk to, and cannot find a solution" whenever the masses or the grassroots request them to solve matters. 2) They never take a serious attitude toward the party's decision, are perfunctory, and never perform practical work. 3) They tend to exaggerate the situation and hold back unpleasant information. 4) They are languid, do not give any serious thought to anything, are irresponsible, are content with the status quo, and do not stress efficiency. 5) They put on bureaucratic airs, frequently blame others, and abuse power. The reasons for developing bureaucratism are very complicated. In terms of thinking, on the one hand, they are influenced by the thinking of the exploiting class; and on the other, the Marxist viewpoint on mass line was confused in recent years. In some cases, some party members and cadres had a confused concept about this viewpoint, and some cadres do not even understand the viewpoint on mass

line. There have been changes in the style of leadership, as well as the work style, since the Communist Party became the ruling party. Some people gradually got used to sitting in an office and doing nothing except listening to reports, reading internal materials, and giving instructions. As they did not go down to the grassroots and the masses, they gradually developed a bureaucratic work style. Another main reason is that the system of leadership is excessively centralized. It is just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "Another root cause of bureaucratism is that over a long period of time, there have been neither strict administrative laws and regulations governing all levels from top to bottom, nor a system of individual responsibility in the leadership of our party organizations or various enterprises and institutions; and there are no strict and explicit regulations governing the duties and authority of each organ and each person," and "there is no method for recruitment, reward and punishment, retirement, resignation, and dismissal of cadres under normal situations."¹

In view of the fact that the main reasons for developing bureaucratism are the shortcomings of the leadership and that reform of the leadership is a gradual process, with respect to which we cannot be impatient for success, it is, therefore, equally important that we be determined and insist on fighting against a bureaucratic work style. The most urgent task at present is that we should first propagate among party members and educate them in the Marxist viewpoint on mass line and the party's mass line. Through this education we should help party members, particularly leading cadres at all levels, understand that the way a party member should treat the masses is an issue concerning his basic standpoint, his world outlook, and his party spirit; and that they must firmly establish the viewpoint on mass line, and the attitude of being a public servant. Second, we must restore the fine traditional work style of the organs, and improve the art of leadership. Organs at and above the county level should arrange for their cadres to go down to the grassroots in accordance with their characteristics and actual needs, and persist in carrying out the work. When going down to the grassroots, they should mainly carry out three types of work. The first one is to propagate the party's policies and carry out ideological and political work among the masses, so as to implement the party's line, principles, and policies down to every level. The second one is to strengthen the work of studying. They should stress the practical results of studying because it is a scientific work. Investigations that neither put forward questions nor attempt to solve problems are useless. The third one is to serve the grassroots and care about the sufferings of the masses. It is just as the old saying goes: The way for one to rule is to make his people live in contentment, and, in order to make his people live in contentment, he must be concerned with their sufferings. Thus, it is very important that the cadres should know well the condition of the people and show solicitude for their sufferings in order to maintain a stable social order. In particular, they should pay attention to and help solve the shortage of clothes and food, as well as economic

development problems, in "old, minority, remote, and poverty-stricken" areas. Leading cadres should not go down to the grassroots with many attendants crowding around, or the grassroots and the masses will bear a heavy burden.

To Strengthen Party-Masses Relations Is an Important Content of Supporting and Guiding the People by the Party To Master Their Own Affairs in a Better Way, and To Promote the Construction of the Socialist Legal System

Whether a political party pursues interests for a small number of people or for a large number of people, in the past 100-odd years, has been an essential mark for us to distinguish a proletarian party from any other party. It is just as Marx and Engels pointed out in *The Communist Manifesto*: "All movements of the past were movements of, or for the sake of, a small number of people. Movements of the proletariat are independent movements of, and for the interests of, an absolute majority of the people." It is also held under Marxism that, after the proletariat has seized power, all laborers are the master of their state. The people who are elected by all laborers, and who administer the state on behalf of them, are the "public servants" of the people. In China, all power is owned by the people, who have the democratic right to administer state affairs, to administer cultural and education undertakings, and to administer social affairs. The CPC is the vanguard of the working class, is a faithful representative of the interests of all nationalities in China, and is the core of leadership of China's socialist cause. What are the relations between the masses and the party? Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "Contrary to the bourgeois political party, the political party of the working class does not takes the masses as its means. Rather, it conscientiously takes itself as a means of the masses for accomplishing a particular historical mission in a particular historical period. There is no doubt about the great role of leadership over the masses by the Communist Party—which is a combination of the working class and the progressive members among the working people. However, the reason that it becomes a progressive unit, and that it is able to lead the masses, is because and only because it is the one who serves the people wholeheartedly. It reflects the interests and aspirations of the masses and strives to help the masses organize themselves to struggle for their own interests and their aspirations. To acknowledge this concept of the party means that one acknowledges that the party has no power that is superior to the masses, that the party has no power to bestow things on the masses as a favor or the power to monopolize everything or resort to coercion and commandism when dealing with the masses, that the party has no power to lord it over the masses."² He also pointed out that the core of the party's work is to support and guide the people to master their own affairs. These are brilliant remarks that explicitly explain the relations between the party and the masses, and between the party's leadership and the way that the masses master their own affairs. Moreover, they are the unique criteria for us to correctly understand and

handle party-masses relations. Therefore, to strengthen the relations between the party and the masses is not only an issue concerning the self-construction of the party, but also the one that helps the party support and guide the people to master their own affairs in a better way, and to fully exercise the right to administer state affairs and social affairs. Furthermore, it is an issue about further strengthening the construction of socialist democracy and legal system, and about the implementation of reform of the political system in an unswerving and unremitting manner. Only when issues are put forward and settled in this manner can we master the key points of strengthening relations between the party and the masses and really further strengthen party-masses relations under the new situation.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party did a lot of work to guide the people and made achievements in the areas of reforming the leadership of the party and the state and in the development of socialist democracy. It is seen across the country as the best period since the founding of the state. Organizers and instigators of last year's turmoil in China, on the one hand, viciously attacked leaders of the party and said that the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship was an "autocracy" and "dictatorship." They called out such high-flown words as "democracy," "freedom," and so on. On the other hand, they advocated so-called "elite politics," "the rule of the state by elites," and "allowing some people to have democracy first." In their mind, democracy was a toy that one can interpret and play with in whatever way one wants. On the issue of democracy, they intended to stir up trouble and propagate abstract and superclass democracy and freedom. Their purpose was to oppose the leadership of the party, overthrow the state power of the people's democracy, and let their "elites" monopolize political power. In essence, the democracy that they preferred was bourgeois democracy, which was for a small number of people. A fundamental difference between them and the people who support the party and socialism was what kind of democracy we need, rather than whether or not we need democracy. What we need is the people's socialist democracy, which is a lively political situation embodying democracy, discipline, freedom, a unified will, and happy personal feelings. Under this situation, the leadership of the Communist Party will become stronger and more powerful; democratic centralism will be more perfect; the leadership responsibility of the party will, under the guarantee of a perfect system, be done in a more scientific, efficient, and systematic way; and the dignity of the socialist legal system, and various kinds of discipline, will be fully reflected in the daily work of the state, in social life, in the daily work of the party, and in one's work, labor, and study. Under the protection of the powerful organs of the state, social order will be maintained; the constitutional, as well as legal, democratic rights of the citizens will be fully exercised through a perfected socialist democratic form; opinions, requests, and criticism of the masses will be immediately reported to and respected by the upper

level without any hitch. Wishes and interests of the masses will be really manifested to the largest possible extent in the daily work of the state and in social life, all phenomena that undermine the people's interests will be immediately and effectively checked, and any person who abuses power and commits crimes for personal gains will be properly dealt with. Therefore, the relations between the party and the masses will inevitably become closer. In order to achieve this, we must go through persistent and unswerving reforms of the political system. Due to the limitations of our economic, political, cultural, and social development, reforms of the political system can only be a step-by-step process that focuses on accumulation and comprehensive coordinated development, that must be done in a steady and systematic way under the leadership of the party, and that must help maintain the stability of society.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, 1975-1982*, p. 288.
2. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, 1938-1965*, pp. 205-206.

Strengthening Study of Marxist Theory Is an Urgent Task of the Whole Party

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[Article by Bai Dong Cai (4101 2767 2624)]

[Text] Since the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, the Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin as the nucleus has considered to be very important the improved attainment in Marxist theory on the part of all party members—especially leadership cadres at various levels—and has advocated that the party take as an urgent task the strengthening of the study of Marxist theory and to use Marxism to guide the discussions and research on current important problems. This was an important decision made by the third-generation leadership following collective and penetrating summing up of the experiences of the pros and cons of our party's and the international communist movement. It is now the urgent task of our party in ideological construction, to deeply comprehend the spirit of the directive of the party Central Committee, to fully understand the important realistic significance and deep-going historical meaning of raising the whole party's level in Marxist theory, and, with a high degree of sense of political responsibility, to develop with eminent effectiveness the study of Marxist theory.

I. Historical Experiences Have Proven That Ceaselessly Raising the Party's Level in Marxist Theory Is the Fundamental Guarantee for the Success of the Party's Enterprise

Marxism is a scientific theoretical structure. Up to now it is still the most scientific and correct comprehension and summation of the entire historical development of the human race. It has provided the proletariat and their

political party with a strong ideological weapon for understanding the world and rebuilding it. Since the establishment of our party, we have taken Marxism as the theoretical foundation for guiding ideology, and as the guidebook for actions. Over the past half century and more, all that the Chinese Communist Party has done in leading the Chinese people may be comprehensively described as combining the universal truth of Marxism with the reality of the Chinese revolution. In this procedure, there were two flying leaps. The first occurred at the time of the new democratic revolution. When the elderly group of proletarian revolutionists with Chairman Mao as the representative took the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism to scientifically analyze China's historical and social conditions, they advocated the correct road and policy for China's revolution, developed the Marxist ideology pertaining to the party's leadership power in the democratic revolution, opened up the road of the rural villages encircling the cities and towns, created the theory of the new democratic revolution, many times rescued the party and the revolution from danger, and pushed the thriving development of China's democratic revolution and the people's liberation enterprise. The Yenan rectification movement which began in 1942 further fully demonstrated that raising the party's level in Marxist theory played an enormous role in promoting the revolutionary enterprise. The Yenan rectification definitely established the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and the excellent role of putting theory in liaison with reality. It realized the party's unprecedented ideological unification and political unity, and trained a large number of excellent cadres possessing relatively high attainment in Marxist theory who were adept in linking ideology with reality. This not only basically guaranteed victories in the War of Resistance Against Japan and the liberation war, but also laid a good ideological and organizational foundation for work following the founding of the republic. In this context it may be said that the victory in the democratic revolution, the founding of the PRC, and, in the initial period of the founding of the republic, the rapid restoration and development of the national economy and the smooth progress of socialist transformation were all inseparable from this all-round educational movement in Marxism. The second flying leap occurred after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, when the nationwide spreading of the great discussions on the standard of truth was, in reality, another round of universal Marxist education. At the time, the second-generation party Central Committee leadership group with Comrade Deng Xiaoping as the nucleus advocated the integrated and correct study, understanding, and employment of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; set up anew the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, carried out the shifting of the center of the work of the whole party, and created the new historical period of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. These two flying leaps denoted the truth: That continuously improving the level in Marxist ideology of the whole party and being adept in

combining Marxism-Leninism with China's reality constitute the basic guarantee to the success of our party enterprise.

Contrarily, in history our party's several large, important errors, and the setbacks met with, may be ascribed basically to deviation in theory from the correct track of Marxism. In the first period of the domestic war of revolution, Chen Duzhou distorted Marxism, believed that China's proletariat had not yet matured, and that China's democratic revolution could be led only by the capitalist class; he proffered the KMT [Kuomintang] the leadership of the revolution, abandoned armed struggle, and caused the big revolution to meet with a serious failure. During the period of the second domestic revolutionary war, Wang Ming worshipped Marxism as dogma, copied and transferred it in a wholesale manner, mechanically shifted over whole experiences of foreign countries, pursued a set of policies of "leftist" venturism, and caused great harm to the party organization and the revolutionary enterprise. In his later years, Comrade Mao Zedong fostered the developed the Great Cultural Revolution, mostly due to his wrong assessment of the situation of the class struggle in the country at that time and the political situation. He advanced the "theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," was made the tool of the antirevolutionary clique under Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, and caused the 10-year-long tragedy. A review of these historical experiences and lessons can make us more deeply understand that "elevation and improvement of the party in the realm of theory is a basic and sure guarantee for the correct and scientific nature of the party leadership," and can further raise the self-consciousness in the study of Marxist theory.

II. The Large, Important Task Currently Confronting the Party Urgently Requires the Raising of the Whole Party's Level in Marxist Theory

At present, we are at an important junction of historical development. Seen from the international level, capitalist countries, after passing through a period of relative stability and development, are definitely still holding the upper hand in the economic, scientific, and technical sectors; the political situation in certain countries is undergoing drastic vibrations and changes; international imperialism has stepped up its strategy of "peaceful evolution" and generally demonstrates a spirit of extreme toughness. In our country, although the 10 years of reform and economic construction have achieved development and attainment well-known throughout the world, in the course of progress serious errors and deviations have occurred. Principally, there has been laxity in education in Marxism and in ideological and political work, while the ideas of capitalist liberalism several times took the opportunity to overwhelm the cities and the countryside. Likewise, as a result of overheated development, the economy lost its balance in gross supply and demand, and generally there were temporary hardships on various sides. At this crucial historical period of pressure from the outside and of

difficulties and turmoil inside the country, it is extremely important to centralize energy and efforts on stabilizing the political situation and the economy and perform well the job of tending to the country's affairs. And to accomplish this point, it is necessary to depend on the correct guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

First of all, in order to penetratingly clarify the right or wrong of the ideas that have been put in disarray and remove the influences of the thought wave of bourgeois liberalism, the urgent task is to strengthen the study of Marxism. The wave of ideas of bourgeois liberalism is a reactionary thought wave with the design of refuting leadership of the Communist Party and overthrowing the socialist system. Seen from the conditions in recent years, it has been an important factor in disrupting our country's political stability. Last year, the party Central Committee adopted determined and decisive measures to stop riots and to quell the counterrevolutionary rebellion. Since then, the political situation in our country has, in general, become stable. But we must clearly note that the influences of bourgeois liberalism have not yet been completely obliterated and that many deep problems of understanding have not yet been thoroughly resolved. Dramatic changes in the international situation may still cast their influences on our country. The opposing stance between the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalism will continue to exist for a protracted period of time. The struggles between international opposing forces and socialist countries seen in infiltration and counterinfiltration, subversion and countersubversion, and "peaceful evolution" and counter-"peaceful evolution," will likewise exist for a long time. Therefore, resolutely and untiringly opposing capitalist liberalism, being increasingly alert to "peaceful evolution," and maintaining and developing a stable political situation, are still the major tasks on our ideological and political front line.

In our political life, many phenomena require of us to reflect soberly and penetratingly. How is it that, although Comrade Deng Xiaoping had long ago firmly insisted on the four cardinal principles, in the past 10 years the thought wave of bourgeois liberalism has still played havoc? How is it that a small number of persons stubbornly insisting on bourgeois liberalism could deceive and stir up so many young students, people in the cities, and even a considerable number of party and government cadres, causing serious social disturbances and even counterrevolutionary rioting? The basic cause was that certain individual leaders, since they took over the helm of central party work, had diluted ideological and political work and had become lax in the party's ideological building up. This had caused a great setback to the study of Marxist theory, allowed the cadres to become lazy in their theoretical studies, and caused many party members and cadres to lack attainment in Marxist theory and lose their resistance to the inroads of ideas of bourgeois liberalism. The "cream" of the people propagating bourgeois liberalism precisely took advantage of this weak point on our part. Either cloaked in the

outside garment of having a "reunderstanding" or putting forth a "new theory" in peddling their secret wares of counter-Marxism, or downgrading Marxism to the low level of just an ordinary "school" of thought, and negating the guiding role of Marxism, or even nakedly announcing Marxism to be "out of date," these proponents of bourgeois liberalism offered the solution of replacing Marxism with the "blue civilization" they have obtained from the Western capitalist class. During one period, certain public opinion tools became tools for propagating bourgeois liberalism, and cries of attack and blasphemy against Marxism were rampant and caused great confusion in the thinking of the cadres and the populace. Hence, in order to basically stabilize the general situation and realize prolonged political peace and tranquility, it is absolutely necessary to thoroughly eradicate the evil influences of bourgeois liberalism lying deep in the minds of the populace. And, to accomplish this point, merely embodying good wishes and an urgent frame of mind would be far from sufficient. The basic measure should be to strengthen, without delay, the whole party's study of Marxist theory, improve the theoretical attainment and political quality of the extensive masses of party members and cadres, and raise their power of immunity against infection with the ideas of bourgeois liberalism.

Another important task before us now is to further perform the jobs of improvement and rectification and deepening the reform, and to achieve the sustained, stable, and coordinated development of the economy. To accomplish this task well, similarly requires strengthening the study of Marxist theory. After over a year's work and endeavor, improvement and rectification have already obtained certain obvious effects. However, what we must especially guard against is the vicious cycle which has appeared again and again in our economic work since the founding of the republic of "being overheated, then readjusting, again overheated, and again readjusting." In order to properly improve and rectify and avoid future repetition of the same errors, the whole party and country should, with one heart and soul, discover the ideological and theoretical source of this sort of vicious cycle and cause the maintenance of a sustained, stable, and coordinated economic development to become the common understanding. The root cause of the trouble with seeking quick results in economic work as seen from theory, is the violation of the Marxist theory of social reproduction and the law of planned and proportionate development. Seen from ideological methodology, disregarding national conditions and capacity, and unilaterally going after high speed constitute dislocation between subjectivism and objectivism and commit the error of subjective one-sidedness. To thoroughly cure this "chronic disease," it is necessary to strengthen the study of Marxist philosophy and economic theory so that in the mind of each and every party member and cadre, there are more dialectics and materialism, and less metaphysics and

subjectivism, and so there will be firm insistence on starting from reality and working consciously according to objective laws.

To perform improvement and rectification well, it is important that we make all-round preparations, and appropriately harmonize and smooth out relations on all sides. Contradictions in economic work are highly misleading and complex. In improvement and rectification, on the one hand we must insist firmly on the guideline of retrenchment and maintain an appropriate degree of economic growth; and on the other hand, we must smooth out relations as quickly as possible, but must not be too hasty, otherwise too great social reverberations may be caused. We must also stress centralization and unification and strengthen planned guidance, but also must respect the activism of the localities and the enterprises and abide by the law of value. This will require learning and acquiring the dialectical viewpoint and dialectical method in analyzing and treating problems, correctly grasping the "degree" or "extent" of various policies and measures, and preventing one type of trend and covering up another type. Improvement and rectification must strengthen macroeconomic adjustment and control, correct the deviation of social gross demand exceeding gross supply, and readjust the imbalance in the proportionate relationships within the economy. Certain industries and projects must be kept, some must be cut down, and certain others must be developed with increasing speed. This is related not only to the relations between materials, but also concerns readjustment of the interests between various levels, localities, enterprises, and people. All this not only needs a deep understanding of economic theory and actual conditions, but also demands caring for the situation as a whole, understanding the greater picture. It also needs cooperation and support from all sides, and to work together with one heart. Hence, it demands that the whole party employ the stand, viewpoint, and methodology of Marxism; perform deep-going and meticulous ideological and political work; establish a concept of the overall situation; and truly implement improvement and rectification.

III. To Guarantee That the Leadership Power at Various Levels of the Party and the State Is in the Hands of People Who Are Loyal to Marxism, It Is Necessary To Penetratingly Carry Out Education in Marxism Throughout the Party

Our party is a ruling party with more than 40 million members; it carries the historical, heavy burden of leading a population of 1.1 billion to build socialism with Chinese Characteristics. Not only must we rouse ourselves for vigorous efforts to make the country prosperous and satisfactorily fulfill the various tasks before us, but we must also open up our vision, be circumspect and farsighted, closely link together to perform our current tasks of realizing the party's macroeconomic targets, and make our socialist modernization enterprise progress from beginning to end along the correct track. In this connection, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's basic

theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and the development strategy of "going forward in three steps" and the road, guideline, and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have opened up for us the road to advancement and have clearly pointed out the forward-going direction. Realization of this macroeconomic target requires the tireless efforts of several generations of people, and the key to the problem lies in the hands of the leadership power held at various levels of the party and the state.

The fact that our party's elderly group of proletarian revolutionaries have been great Marxists has been proven by actual practice in China's revolution and construction, including actual practices over the past 10 years and more, in firmly insisting on the reform and construction. That the party's third-generation leadership group headed by Comrade Jiang Zemin as the nucleus is currently leading the whole party and people to advance along the road of Marxism is a fact seen by all. However, we must also clearly see that the conditions of the entire contingent of cadres are still in many respects incompatible and unsuited to the enormous responsibility borne by the party, and to the current complex conditions. Since structural reform, a large number of middle-aged and young cadres have been promoted from their specialized technical posts at rather low working levels to leadership posts at various levels. They have a rather high cultural level and relatively more specialized knowledge, possess the developing spirit and a warm zeal for work, and actually obtain noticeable results in their work. However, it need not be denied that quite a large number among them did not receive education in Marxist theory. In recent years, due to the laxity in education, certain cadres, after having been in the service for several years, have not basically changed their lack of a background in Marxism. A lesson that may be drawn from the political disturbance that occurred last year is that there was some problem with the party, particularly with respect to the leadership teams. If it is said that the basic problem in our engaging in revolution in the past was one of political power, then, with our party now in the ruling position, the basic problem is one of leadership power. It may be said that the leadership power problem, or problem of team or contingent building and cadre attainment, is the extension and manifestation of the political power under new historical conditions. Therefore, definitely solving the problem of the cadres being lazy and behind in theory, training thousands and millions of Marxists, and ensuring that leadership power at various levels in the party and state is firmly held in the hands of those faithful to Marxism, possesses an extremely important strategic significance and has a direct bearing on the rise or fall of the party and the state.

Loyalty to Marxism means that we must have a firm confidence in it and fight for communism indomitably throughout life. Comrades who have gone through the revolutionary war period all know that at that time

participation in the Communist Party and in the revolution did not imply aspirations for high official posts and remuneration. Instead, before them was the possibility of bloodshed and of sacrifice. In those difficult months, many comrades lost their lives and shed their warm blood, and many comrades faced disaster after disaster, finally emerging alive. Comrades followed one after another sacrificing their lives, fighting hard and heroically. What did they have to fall back upon? They relied on Marxism, on their firm confidence in communist theory, and on their spirit of serving the people with heart and soul. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: This belief is a sort of motive power. Without a complete belief in Marxism, China's revolution would have been a failure. Today, our party's environment, compared with that at the time of the revolutionary war, is far better. But on the road that lies ahead there are still many difficulties and impediments. Hence, it may also be said that, if there is no complete belief in Marxism, then it will not be possible to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. Among us, each and every party member, cadre, and comrade occupying a leadership post at various levels in the party and state must build a firm faith in Marxism. "Whichever way the wind blows, we must set the green hill as the relentless target"; we must firmly and irrevocably support the leadership position of Marxism. In the complicated and complex political atmosphere, under attack from various sorts of erroneous ideologies, and in a situation facing many possible difficulties and setbacks, we must remain clear-headed; firm in stand; hoist a clearly marked banner, and from beginning to end organize and unite the extensive masses of people to advance along the road led by Marxism.

To acquire a firm belief and faith in Marxism, it is necessary to study it. If a systematic understanding of the basic theory of Marxism is lacking and if there are only simple sentiments, then it will be impossible to set up a truly firm faith in Marxism. If something goes wrong, we may even be cheated and be led to take the erroneous theory of certain "non-Marxism" and even "anti-Marxism" as Marxism, and blindly believe in it. Quite obviously, in order to definitely ensure that the leadership power at various levels of the party and state forever remains in the hands of those loyal to Marxism, it is necessary, within the scope of the whole party, to carry out systematic education and reeducation in the basic theory of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought. As for leadership cadres at various levels, the demand on them should be set even higher. Indeed, just as Comrade Mao Zedong said, we must study Marxism systematically and not in a piecemeal manner, realistically and not in a vague or empty manner, so as to gradually become true Marxists. If we have a considerably large number of this kind of leadership cadres, the party's coagulating, absorbing, and fighting power will be greatly enhanced; the countenance of our various kinds of work will be greatly changed; our party and state will be able to

withstand the tests of any kind of tumultuous storm; and our enterprise will certainly be able to attain even greater success.

IV. The Key To Studying and Grasping Marxist Theory Lies in Having a Good Style of Study

In studying the basic theory of Marxism, it is necessary to have not only a strong feeling of urgency and a high degree of consciousness, but also a good style of study. Regarding the style of study, I feel that it is necessary to prevent the two tendencies of formalism and realism. In formalism, one just makes do and blows a gust of wind; this not only cannot solve the actual problems, but may easily lead to making Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought common and vulgar. In realism, the basis is one's own interests and partial interests, selecting subjectively one or two words from Marxism, and making an arbitrary interpretation of them; thus one cannot learn the real essence of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and may also fall into the quagmire of subjective idealism. Both of these trends run counter to Marxism and deviate far from it.

The problem of study style is, in reality, a problem of attitude toward Marxism. Incorrectness in study style is the manifestation of a lack or incompleteness in party character. A correct style of study is the liaison of theory with study. Liaison of theory with reality has been formed by our party in the struggle and actual practice of revolution and construction extending over several decades. The repeated advocacy by Comrade Mao Zedong of one of the three large styles was also an innate demand of the Marxist party character and character of actual practice. A firm insistence on this sort of style in study is an essential condition for our party's opening up of the revolutionary road with Chinese characteristics, and the road of socialist construction with Chinese characteristics. Today, when we study the basic theory of Marxism, we should follow the party's glorious tradition and make a good display of the superior style of study which keeps theory and reality in liaison.

To accomplish the feat of keeping theory and reality in liaison, it is necessary to earnestly read books and study and devote great efforts to studying the publications of Marx and Lenin. Actual practice has shown that studying to get instant results cannot be firmly insisted on for long, and produces poor results. At present, most leadership cadres at various levels have a relatively good cultural foundation, can be "face to face" with Marx and Lenin, and can read the "original" writings. Only by so doing can they grasp the essence of Marxism. The writings of the elderly proletarian revolutionaries like Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping and the important documents of the party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are models of the basic theory of Marxism, and are the close combination of China's revolutionary construction and actual practice. They constitute Marxism in an enriched and developed form and should be painstakingly studied along

with the texts of Marxism-Leninism. Learning, understanding, and grasping the theory of Marxism is the prerequisite of theory being in liaison with reality. If even the basic theory of Marxism is not grasped, how can we talk about keeping theory in liaison with realism? Over these years, some of our comrades have overlooked the study of Marxist theory. Some comrades have made an attempt to do so, but soon stopped and, as a result, very little was achieved. A condition of this kind must be rectified. Naturally, Marxist theory is comprehensive and profound. To learn it and grasp it well cannot be done overnight, but requires gradual progress and long-term effort. Hence, in the course of studying Marxism we must combine systematic overall study with the study of the major points. At the moment, we should respond to the call of the party Central Committee and concentrate our energy on strengthening the study of the philosophy of Marxism.

In order for theory to unite with reality, it is still necessary to advocate the application of the basic theory of Marxism to solve actual problems and to raise the leadership level of the cadres at various levels and their decisionmaking ability. Hence, concurrently with the earnest acquisition of book knowledge, it is necessary to closely join the basic theory of Marxism with actual practice in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. In the course of actual work, we must, through studying Marxist theory, deepen understanding of the party's road, guideline, and policy; be adept in the use of a Marxist stand, viewpoint, and methodology to investigate and study; sum up experiences; and make correct decisions on the various kinds of work now and in the future. This writer happens to have spent much time on work in Jiangxi and is relatively familiar with the procedure of decisionmaking of the provincial CPC Committees in their successive terms of office. My understanding is that, aside from the specially determined historical periods such as the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and so forth, the formation of many of our important decisions depended on the following: First, on the correct guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and the party's road, guideline, and policy; second, on the leadership experiences accumulated for a protracted period of time in revolution and construction; and third, on entering deep into the grassroots level to study and investigate and to make collective discussions. In my opinion, this is also the procedure of the combination of theory with actual practice, and of the party's road, guideline, and policy with actual work. Naturally, in the past and now, the policy decisions of leadership at various levels could not avoid errors in certain respects. The causes of such a condition were, speaking objectively, because affairs on the outside were many, tedious, and complex; with new conditions and new problems continuously arising, people's understanding of them must first go through a gradual and deepening process. Subjectively speaking, it was because our leaders at various levels were still behind in their capability to grasp and employ Marxism and still needed to improve further in this respect. This

is precisely why we have strongly emphasized that leaders at various levels must earnestly study the stand, viewpoint, and methodology of Marxism, and do their utmost to employ them in reality.

Strengthen Agricultural Foundation, Promote Agricultural Development

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[Article by He Kang (0149 1660)]

[Text] Review the Past, Sum Up Experience and Lessons

New China has achieved tremendous successes in economic construction over the past four decades. The achievements made in the 10 years since the reform and open policy, in particular, have won worldwide recognition. However, the development of the national economy has gone through a tortuous course, and economic construction has experienced several ups and downs. After the Great Leap Forward of 1958 and the "foreign leap forward" of 1978, we have the current economic fluctuations. The national economy has undergone readjustment every few years. Although the background of each readjustment varied, we cannot deny that the imbalance between industry and agriculture was a fundamental factor. Every time the economy fluctuated, it was because the scale of capital construction exceeded national capabilities and overheated industrial growth weakened agriculture. Overheated industrial growth was responsible for the policy of giving preference to industry in the allocation of funds and economic resources. On the other hand, due to the shortage of investment, agricultural growth was sluggish and could not sustain the excessive demand for agricultural products. Under the circumstances, readjustment was unavoidable. The difference is that the current readjustment will be more difficult. After the restructuring of the financial system, the ability of the central authorities to regulate economic activities has been weakened. The nation is in great financial difficulties also because the peak period for the repayment of domestic and foreign debts has arrived. The national economy has developed into an all-round system, indicating that the nation's strength has increased. However, the number of weak links in the national economy has also increased, and agriculture is no longer the only sector that is lagging behind. Since basic industries like energy, raw and semiprocessed materials, transportation, and communications cannot keep pace with economic development, it is necessary to inject more funds and give more policy preferences to these areas. These factors determined that, unlike previous readjustments when large amounts of funds could be effectively pooled and invested in agriculture within a short time, it will be very difficult for the current readjustment to push agricultural development to a new level. We must fully take account of this factor.

In order to maintain the sustained, stable, and coordinated development of agriculture and the national economy as a whole, we must seriously draw lessons

from economic fluctuations of the past: First, the pace of industrial and agricultural development must be kept at a reasonable rate, and on no account must we blindly accelerate industrial development when the agricultural situation has improved. Second, at no time should the position of agriculture as the foundation be shaken. All trades and professions must attach importance to the rural areas, agriculture, and the peasantry, and bring their work into the orbit of taking agriculture as the foundation. Third, the proportion of agricultural investment in state plans should be kept stable in order to strengthen agroindustrial construction, farmland capital construction, the construction of agricultural commodity bases and the construction of agricultural service structures. On no account must we reduce agricultural investment when the agricultural situation takes a turn for the better and slash investment when agricultural production declines. Fourth, since agriculture combines crop cultivation, fish and livestock breeding, and comprehensive trades, comprehensive support measures must be adopted to increase overall production capacity. Fifth, efforts must be made to combine the planned economy with regulation through market forces, establish a good circulation mechanism, and straighten out the price relations between industrial and agricultural products and between grain and other agricultural products in order to arouse the enthusiasm of the peasants. Sixth, efforts must be made to combine traditional skills with advanced and practical technologies and to translate achievements of scientific research into productivity as quickly as possible.

Define the Guiding Ideology and Solve Several Problems of Understanding

Some people are of the view that the problem of agriculture is essentially a problem of industry. The input of funds for agriculture can come only from industry, but, since industry is not well developed, its ability to provide agriculture with funds and equipment is naturally very limited. Hence, they believe that we must develop industry first, that investment for industry should be borne by the 800 million peasants, and that the current sluggish development of agriculture is unavoidable. We think that this view is wrong. Since the ratio of our industrial output value to agricultural output value has changed from 3:7 just after liberation to the present 8:2, with industry occupying a predominant position, support should be given to agricultural development. We are aware that the entire industrial sector is faced with the task of striving for better economic performance and that massive input is required for technological transformation, but, if agriculture remains backward, industrial development will inevitably be held back. The reason is that the markets for industrial raw materials and products will be affected if agriculture is not developed. This is obvious. As proven by the experience of different countries, it is a correct policy to take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and to ensure that industry and agriculture complement each other and develop in a coordinated way, while the policy

of sacrificing agriculture for the development of industry has failed to produce any good results.

In recent times, some people abroad believe that China cannot solve the problem of feeding its population on its own, and that by the year 2000 it will have to import 50-100 million tons of grain each year. This conclusion is based on the following basic points of understanding: First, because agriculture is under serious material constraints in China, it is impossible to increase input markedly. Second, grain prices are distorted and the presence of barriers in the grain market is not conducive to the development of grain production. Third, the retail price of farm products is lower than their state purchase price. Because subsidies are given to consumers but not to production, there is a shortage of production funds. Fourth, since China is not only faced with a shortage of grain but is also faced with a shortage of feed, it is impossible to "substitute grain with meat." In addition, they also think that in studying the trend of grain development, we should take the low growth rate between 1985 and 1989 as point of reference rather than base our observation on the rate between 1978 and 1984. These views are worth studying. However, we must realize that the factors restraining grain production are not unchangeable. Great potential lies in the tapping of agricultural resources in China; the key lies in our future efforts. While we will certainly encounter difficulties in our efforts to increase agricultural input and reform the state monopoly and purchasing price for grain, these can be gradually resolved through hard work. We are fully capable of resolving the problem of achieving self-sufficiency in grain through self-reliance.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out to us a long time ago the three steps to be taken in developing the national economy, and this strategic goal was reiterated by General Secretary Jiang Zemin on behalf of the new central leadership group at the rally to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the people's republic. We hope that by the year 2000 grain production will reach 500 million tons and cotton production will reach 100 million tons. These goals are not too high from the perspective of demand. Grain production, calculated at the controlled population of 1.25 billion by the end of this century, will be only 400 kilograms per capita, which is merely the 1984 level. As the production of animal husbandry and aquatic products develops, the protein and fat content in food will be increased. By then it will be basically possible to guide consumption in a reasonable way on the basis of feeding the population, and to establish a dietary structure that is suited to Chinese characteristics, thereby enabling the population to be better fed. If we fail to increase grain production to 400 kilograms per capita, it will be quite impossible to achieve a relatively comfortable standard of living.

Although there are certain difficulties in achieving the goals for agriculture by the year 2000, it is not impossible considering China's potential for agricultural production. We still have 500 million mu of reclaimable land resources, 200 million mu of which can be opened up as

arable land. We still have the potential to raise the multiple cropping index by another dozen percentage points, and can increase the sown acreage by 200 million mu. Two-thirds of our low-yield arable land may be turned into high-yield fields. Scientific and technological development also promises a variety of potential to increase production. Views holding that agriculture has exhausted its potential and has no way out are untenable. In recent years, a number of areas in northern and southern China have achieved a grain output of over one ton. The total acreage of these fields has reached 19.9 million mu. Chenghai and Huyang in Guangdong are the first two counties to have achieved an output of one ton per mu. Advanced models that have emerged throughout the country and the scientific and technological achievements made by the vast numbers of scientific and technological personnel have opened up new prospects of development. We must heighten our confidence, proceed from the actual situation of resources in different localities, and adopt correct policies and measures to translate potential productive forces into actual productive forces.

Major Measures for Promoting Agricultural Development

How can we translate the potential for agricultural development into actual productive capacity? Having summed up the practical experience of different localities, I have the following suggestions to make.

1. We must stabilize and improve the basic economic policies for the rural areas. There is currently a theory that maintains that the output-related system of contracted household responsibility has exhausted its potential and lost its superiority, as if it were high time that the rural economic structure be changed. This is not acceptable to the masses of peasants. The system of contracted household responsibility still has great vitality in a country like ours which has a large population but little arable land. In the suburbs of large cities, industrial and mining areas, the developed coastal areas, and the sparsely populated northeast, we may proceed from reality and practice a moderate measure of management to scale on the basis of voluntary participation by the peasants. A moderate measure of land management to scale concerns the effective combination of production factors and means more than just the simple concentration of land. It is an improvement and development of the output-related system of contracted responsibility on the household basis.

In improving the output-related system of contracted responsibility, the key lies in the provision of better socialized services before, during, and after production. We must establish and strengthen the system of socialized services, improve the two-tier system of management that combines centralization with decentralization, and rely on collective economic bodies to run undertakings that cannot be run or run properly by individual

households, thereby forming new operational and service entities. This is what we mean by a new collective economy.

2. We must try by all and every means to increase agricultural input. There are many reasons why agriculture has suffered from fluctuations in recent years, but a basic reason is that we have overlooked and reduced agricultural input. This problem has been there since rural reform first started. By relying on the output-related system of contracted responsibilities and living off agricultural capital construction of the past decades, the problem was not manifest at the beginning. This is because agricultural input, particularly investment in agricultural capital construction, has a "delayed effect." It is only when past gains have more or less been exhausted that the problem has become more manifest in recent years. After the sharp fall in output in 1985, agricultural production fluctuated for several years running. Apart from the price factor, this was due to the continuous drop in input and the failure to increase the overall production capacity of agriculture. This was an undeniable mistake. In 1989 agricultural input was increased somewhat, but then again there were many projects and plans that had not been taken care of. The key now lies in implementation.

Agricultural input is a multilevel system of input, and includes input by the central and local authorities and input by the collective and individual peasant households. The role of central input is to provide guidance and set the example. The central authorities must provide the lead in the comprehensive development of large agricultural regions, the harnessing of big rivers, and the construction of major agricultural projects and commodity bases. Since the state is currently faced with many financial difficulties, we must not simply rely on the central authorities for agricultural input and must bring into play the enthusiasm of all quarters. After the national plan is decided upon, in particular, the weight of increased input must be shifted downward. The Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee urged that the financial reserves left at the disposal of local authorities be spent mainly on agriculture. In recent years, most grain-deficient provinces have come to understand that, rather than spending a large part of their budget to buy grain and pay grain subsidies, it would be a much better idea to invest the money on production and promote local grain production. Guangdong, Guangxi, Fujian, Yunnan, and Guizhou all increased agricultural input in 1989 because the leadership of these provinces attached great importance to agriculture. The provincial governors and county magistrates found the going much easier when a bumper harvest was reaped.

We must create a good economic environment and change the unreasonable relations of comparative earnings in order to attract investment from the peasants. On the one hand, we must continue to raise the price of agricultural products. The extent of the increase must exceed the inflation of prices, for only in this way can we

change the unreasonable price structure. On the other hand, we must guide the consumption demands of the peasants and turn a portion of the consumption funds into production funds. At present, extravagance and waste are amazingly serious in the rural areas, and feudal and superstitious ideas are still poisoning the minds of the peasants in weddings and funeral matters. We must promote new customs and habits among the peasants and keep rural party members within the bounds of party discipline.

In agricultural work, we must grasp current production and accumulate stamina at the same time. Our general objective in improving the material and technical conditions of agricultural production is to increase overall production capacity, and this is impossible without relying on farmland and water conservancy capital construction to strengthen resistance to natural disasters and without developing agroindustry. In order to improve the conditions of agricultural production, we must uphold the principle of simultaneously grasping engineering measures and biological measures. The specific focus of attention for different areas should be based on local conditions. Scientific and technological personnel must conduct in-depth study in this regard and disseminate scientific and technological research achievements.

3. We must fully utilize agricultural resources. The utilization of agricultural resources involves development in breadth as well as the in-depth tapping of potential. Localities must deeply and conscientiously unfold this task in accordance with the prescribed plan. In particular, they must attach importance to guiding the peasants to devote themselves to the task of tapping resources, bring into play the advantage of having a large labor force, pay attention to labor accumulation, and tap new agricultural resources.

The tapping of agricultural resources in depth is mainly a matter of intensive management. On the one hand, we must pay attention to the crop pattern and increase the multiple cropping index. In recent years, we have made some readjustments to the crop pattern by developing sugar cane production in Zhanjiang in Guangdong as well as in Guangxi and Yunnan, developing sugar beet production in Inner Mongolia and the northwest, and developing cotton production in northern China and Xinjiang, in an effort to bring out the initiative and advantages of the localities. The national crop pattern must be readjusted in accordance with the requirements of agricultural zoning and be given guidance according to plan. Hebei, Shandong, Henan, and Xinjiang may grow a bit more cotton, while the acreage in cotton in the major producing areas in southern China must be kept stable. On the other hand, we must create a good input environment and guide the peasants to put in more work and investment into the fields. This will enable us to practice intensive management, with the labor force, funds, and material resources concentrated in the development of arable land. The period of readjustment affords us a good opportunity. With other industries all subject to retrenchment, rural idle funds and laborers

"returning from cities" can be guided to develop cultivation. This is of advantage to the tapping and utilization of agricultural resources.

We must pay attention to the proper handling of the relationship between the tapping of new agricultural productive capacity and the utilization of existing agricultural productive capacity. On the question of the distribution of funds and material resources, in particular, we must guard against putting too much emphasis on one aspect at the expense of the other. We must act according to our capability in tapping resources, organically combine the two, and attach importance to improving performance.

4. We must rely on science and technology to promote agriculture. There are two different ways to view the question of relying on science and technology to promote agriculture. One view sees "relying on science and technology to promote agriculture" as a stopgap measure, the argument being that the state does not have a policy that can pass the stiffest test and there is not much input available for the development of agriculture. As we see it, today as in the past, the role of science and technology in developing agriculture cannot be underestimated. The three major leaps in paddy production in our country were the work of science and technology. On the first occasion, long-stalked paddy rice was replaced with the short-stalked paddy variety. On the second occasion, single-cropping of paddy was replaced by double-cropping. On the third occasion, a fine variety of hybrid paddy was popularized over large areas. The substantial output increase registered in cotton-growing areas in northern China some years ago was also due to the popularization of the comprehensive cultivation of high-yielding species and the adoption of preventive measures against pests and plant diseases. Another view maintains that, if we rely on science and technology and adopt more scientific and technological measures, the problem of input will become less pressing, and it will even be possible to cut back on input. Our view is that there is no science and technology that does not cost money. Science and technology and input must be coordinated, and neither can take the place of the other. The development of science and technology requires input in scientific research, while the use of science and technology to promote agricultural development must have the support of better species, chemical fertilizers, and other forms of input. Achievements of agrotechnical research are disseminated to the peasants in the millions, and are expressed mainly in terms of social benefits. Before achievements of agrotechnical research are applied over large areas, they must go through the stage of experimentation, improvement, and demonstration. Since this is not a stage that generates much benefit, it is not the right time to offer compensated services. Agriculture, particularly the cultivation of grain, cotton, and oil-bearing plants, does not yield high earnings. For this reason, charges for technical services are subject to constraints. Agrotechnical research and the promotion of science and technology are government obligations and require subvention from the government.

In order to conscientiously implement the decision on relying on science and technology to promote agriculture, it is important that we establish an effective system and launch effective activities. Funds for the dissemination of agrotechnology must be established at various levels. Although the "harvest program" jointly sponsored by the Ministries of Agriculture and Finance does not have a huge fund at its disposal, it has enormous significance in that it promotes the large-scale dissemination of agrotechnology throughout the country. The reform of agricultural education concerns the question of bringing up a new generation of peasants who are educated and have technical knowledge. The State Education Commission decided to offer students various types of vocational training after completing primary education. Agricultural departments and different types of agricultural colleges at various levels must give ardent support to rural vocational education. Further efforts must be made to run agricultural broadcasting schools well and to extend the experiment on not allocating jobs to graduates of agricultural universities and secondary schools.

5. We must reform the system of circulation of agricultural products. We have already carried out a number of reforms on the system of circulation of agricultural products. However, the reforms were neither consummate nor mutually supporting. In reforming the circulation of agricultural products, we must devote major efforts to developing flexible and orderly markets for agricultural products. After state purchase by order has been completed, agricultural products should be allowed to circulate freely. The free flow of commodities will benefit the producing areas as well as the marketing areas. The channels for the circulation of agricultural products should only be cleared; they should not be blocked. This is particularly true with fresh and perishable products. Agricultural departments must give positive support to commercial departments in accomplishing the state purchase of agricultural products. On the other hand, they must organize the peasants to open up new channels of circulation and participate in circulation to ameliorate the overstocking and sluggish sales of agricultural products. With regard to bulk commodities like grain, price protection measures must be adopted to protect the interests of peasants. Of course wholesale markets must be established for the circulation of agricultural products, and management over units and individuals dealing in such wholesale business must be strengthened. Effective steps must be taken to solve problems of insufficient storage facilities and cash in the intermediate links. In order to be able to regulate grain supply, the state must build more granaries and establish a reserve fund for this purpose.

6. We must continue to readjust the structure of agricultural production and the consumption pattern. China is rich in manpower resources but relatively short on natural resources. In particular, arable land per capita is on the low side. With a poor economic foundation, there are demands for construction and input from every

quarter. We must therefore decide on our rural industrial policy in the light of our basic national conditions and optimize the deployment of rural resources and factors such as funds, labor force, technology, and goods and materials in order to make the rural industrial structure more rational. This is a task of great importance.

As far as the objectives of the rural industrial policy are concerned, it is important that we give major support to and step up the production of grain, cotton, oil, sugar, meat, eggs, fish, and other agricultural and animal products which have a vital bearing to the national economy and the people's livelihood, strive to increase the supply of essential products, and gradually achieve an overall balance between total supply and total demand. Here, two questions need clarification. First, where crop cultivation is concerned, how are we going to make reasonable arrangements for the production of grain and economic crops and make readjustments to increase the production of feed and grain crops. The structure of crop cultivation must be changed from the present dual structure of grain and economic crops to the ternary structure of grain, feed, and economic crops. Efforts must be made to study the development of feeds, particularly protein feeds. This question has been discussed for years. Readjustment has seen little progress primarily because of the lack of policy support. In future, we must step up efforts to study supporting policies and select a number of areas, including state farms, to carry out pilot experiments.

Second, the question of herd structure in animal husbandry. At present, the herd structure in China is as follows: 330 million head of pigs, 170 million head of sheep, 110 million head of large animals, and 2 billion chickens, ducks, and geese. China tops the world in terms of the total number of animals and poultry raised. On the basis of maintaining this figure, efforts must be made to readjust the mix and increase the number of animals and poultry for sale. There is great potential in this connection. Between 1984 and 1988, per capita grain output dropped by 32 kilograms from 394 kilograms to 362 kilograms, but during the same period meat consumption increased by 6.4 kilograms. This was possible due to reliance on scientific and technological advancement and structural readjustment.

In addition, we must study and find dietary, clothing, and housing patterns that suit our national conditions. The basic requirement for our dietary pattern is 400 kilograms of grain per capita. Since our country does not have an abundant supply of grain and it is inadvisable to consume too much pork, positive steps must be taken to guide consumption demand. As for clothing, we should not put too much stress on woolen goods. At present, our woolen textile industry consumes 180,000 tons of wool each year. Since China only has the capacity to produce 50,000 tons of wool, more than 100,000 tons must be imported. Housing is another major problem. At present, per capita living space for the peasant population is 17 square meters. Appropriate steps must also be taken to control and guide this problem.

7. We must strengthen regulation and control of the rural economy as a whole. The system of macroeconomic regulation and control in the rural areas mainly comprises the planning system, system of economic means, system of economic legislation, and system of economic supervision. We must admit that, 10 years after the implementation of the reform and open policy, the system of macroeconomic regulation and control in the rural areas is still rather weak and cannot meet the needs of the development of the daily expanding rural commodity economy. A more salient problem is that, at a time when the new system for the regulation of the national economy has yet to be improved and the direct control of the rural economy through state plans which has been in practice for decades has ceased to function, macroeconomic management in the rural areas is in a turbulent and unsteady state. Besides, in a big country with numerous departments like ours, how to harmonize the relations between the central and local authorities and achieve coordination between various departments in order to create a fine external environment for the development of the rural areas is also a question of great importance.

At present, our agricultural departments are still lacking the necessary means for strengthening macroeconomic management in the rural areas. Still, something must be done. To begin with, we must strengthen the work of economic analysis and policy research, and form a contingent that is capable of carrying out macroeconomic analysis and lead studies and of providing the government with scientific suggestions for its policymaking. Second, we must strengthen the systems of planned management, economic legislation, and economic supervision. Third, we must try out new ideas at selected spots. For example, some progress has been made in the reform of the system of circulation of agricultural products. We must continue the good work by organizing further explorations, promptly sum up and exchange experienced, and enlarge the scope of reform.

Being Strong in Flavor, Varied, and Colorful—Commenting on the Program 50 Minutes of Local Productions

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[Article by Huang Yongtao (7806 3057 3447)]

[Text] Some people described the program *50 Minutes of Local Productions*, produced by television studios of various provinces and cities, as "correct in tone, strong in flavor." We consider this an appropriate description.

What does "correct in tone" mean? It means that the productions all adhere to the correct political orientation, that their basic tone is spirited, healthy, positive, inspiring, and encouraging. *The Charms of Tibet*, produced by the Tibetan Television Studio, shows the beauty and splendor of Tibet's mountains and rivers, as well as the regions's traditional culture and art, which are valued gems of China. It expresses the praises and love

for Tibet of literary and art workers. *Spirit of the Ancient City*, produced by the Taiyuan Television Studio, shows vividly the distinctive cultural features of an ancient city. The audience cannot help but marvel at its hanging temples, the Taoist grottoes of Longshan, the Taiyuan gong and drum, and so on, and deeply feel the pride of being a member of the Chinese race.

Productions eulogizing the new socialist generation and singing the praises of their selfless dedication form a large portion of the program *50 Minutes of Local Productions*. *A Relief Sculpture of Tomorrow*, produced by the Xinjiang Television Studio, captures the radiance of characters and portrays the moving deeds of exemplary models. It tells of scientists and technicians who hurried to the border regions to engage in pioneering work upon graduation; weathermen who made outstanding performance under adverse conditions; young women who bore the burden of hard work at remote fifth-grade railroad stations... None of them had done anything "spectacular" that shook the world. They simply dedicated their youth working at their respective posts of socialist construction. *Song of the Blue Sky*, produced by the Gansu Television Studio, ardently shows the audience the hard work, selflessness, and undaunted spirit of the soldiers and scientific and technical personnel at a certain test base. The audience is deeply impressed, touched, and inspired by the silhouette of a man who defied personal safety working above the mushroom cloud to collect precise data as well as a person who lived apart from his wife for 24 years so that he could devote himself to research on unmanned planes.

Among the programs shown on *50 Minutes of Local Productions* are commentaries on social issues of concern to the public. In these programs, issues are analyzed in fairly great depth. *Anxieties for the Land*, for instance, concretely and convincingly recounts to the audience how arable land in Jinan is being forcibly occupied and reduced from year to year, and states the reasons. The program provides us with food for thought. *Education, Students, and the Future* enumerates people's anxieties about education, citing the education situation in Henan as a case in point. Although the problems raised in this kind of program are very sharp, they do not make the audience feel disheartened. While raising the problems, these programs also analyze the causes in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, and put forward suggestions for resolving the problems, thereby enabling the audience to see the future and the bright prospects. Hence, the basic tone is a healthy and positive one.

What does "strong in flavor" mean? Most programs shown on *50 Minutes of Local Productions* have a strong local color, or the distinctive features of regional culture. Most programs pay a lot of attention to artistic qualities and have a high artistic level. They have the qualities of TV documentaries. *Charms of Tibet* has a kind of pure and poetic beauty about it. It strives for something sublime and poetic. It charms the audience by telling the story of how four literary and art workers were charmed by Tibet, and expresses the producer's praise of and love

for Tibet. The director of *Half a Century's Love* paid a good deal of attention to detail. The audience is deeply impressed by the director's use of simple scenes to portray the love between an old couple and their pursuit of a life of harmony and beauty. *Anxieties for the Land* is a documentary that makes good use of the presenter's role. The presenter becomes one with the events and the scenes. His natural manner and his incisive comments have greatly increased the sense of participation and effectively induced the audience to think. Hence we say that these special programs have not only given us education, enlightenment, and knowledge, and broadened our horizons, they have also given us an opportunity to enjoy and revel in something really beautiful.

A Thought-Provoking Work Serving as a Warning to the World at Large—Impressions Gained After Watching the TV Series *Overseas Eternal Regret*

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[Article by Wang Yunman (3769 0061 4915)]

[Text] The world today is not as simple as what some of our innocent young men think. The recent trend among the younger generation to leave the country for study abroad is an integral part of the reform and opening up policy. Certain espionage agencies abroad have kept a constant watch over Chinese students studying abroad. They are constantly looking for opportunities to rope in these overseas students, exert a corrosive influence on them and turn them into tools under their control. The seven-part TV series *Overseas Eternal Regret* (produced by Liaoning Television Drama Production Center, screenplay by Ma Zhongyi [7456 0022 3015] and others, and directed by Jin Shoutai [6855 1343 3141]) is a story about the plight of Chen Fei, an Overseas Chinese student. It poignantly reflects the harsh reality and is worthy of being called an original and thought-provoking work that serves as a warning to the world at large.

The play gives its audience a deep impression by fully revealing the true features of the international espionage network. In the play we see seasoned wirepullers like Richard, Professor Zhong Kaiya, and other spies. Their identity, appearance, and methods may differ, and they may constantly vary their tactics—sometimes resorting to sexual seduction, sometimes resorting to "friendship," sometimes using material comfort as a means of corrupting the mind, sometimes using fame and position as an incentive—they have but one aim, namely, to resort to every conceivable means to change Chen Fei's faith in life and pull him under water. Richard is indeed a scheming spy. After successfully taking Chen Fei in, he decides to send Chen Fei back to China. He owns up to his partner about his double plot: "If everything turns out well, our plan will be fulfilled. If it falls through, we will still have ruined one of Communist China's men." This is indeed a shocking truth. This kind of complex

struggle in the world at large should arouse our utmost vigilance, especially the vigilance of the younger generation.

Chen Fei is not a mean character who is full of selfish desires. Neither is he a good-for-nothing who seeks no more than a gilding. Quite to the contrary, he has ability and aspirations, and abides by the traditional ethics of the Chinese nation. We may say that his fall is quite a unique case. It serves as a warning to the world at large. For a long time, international espionage agencies have been working on him by resorting to a variety of tricks, but these efforts have all fallen through. Even Richard finds this a tricky business and laments that mainland students are hard to deal with. But Chen Fei is a young man after all. He is vulnerable like other young people living in the special environment of a strange land. He needs affection and warmth in his career, life, and emotions. The rich girl Mengjiao shows up by his side. She is his partner at work as well as his bosom friend when he feels homesick. She is gentle and cultivated, elegant, warm, and appealing. Chen Fei may have been able to see through and resist all other naked means of corrosion, but he would never have dreamed that a loving woman like her is, in fact, a spy named "Narcissus." Perhaps Chen Fei has heard of stories like this before and has read reports and works of this kind, but when Mengjiao appears before him in the flesh, his mental defenses are demolished one at a time. He ultimately falls victim to this woman spy and sinks into the depths of regret, unable to extricate himself.

From this play, which is about Chen Fei's fall from grace and his repentance, we are made to think of a lot of things. We see how important a person's outlook on life and sense of value are and how crucial the degree of a person's patriotic sentiments is in complicated big and small environments. A person may lose everything else, but once he loses the correct belief, he will lose his motherland and his everything, and it will be too late to regret or to redeem oneself. Perhaps we can say that *Overseas Eternal Regret* has given us a vivid lesson on patriotism from a different angle.

On the whole, *Overseas Eternal Regret* serves as a warning to the world at large because it shows truth and depth. A common weakness of works of this type is that they tend to be contrived and coarse, giving people the impression that they are hearing a tale from "100 Arabian Nights." But this play is different. Apart from the fact that the interpersonal relations and characterization sound convincing, the plot is also breathing with life.

As a popular form of literature and art, TV drama has a variety of functions to fulfill. Among these functions, the cognitive function is of great importance, one that cannot be overlooked. It will help broaden people's horizons and enhance their awareness about the need for more screenings of productions like *Overseas Eternal Regret* that can serve as a warning to the world at large.

Iaccoca Practices Austerity

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[Article by Yang Keliang (2799 7030 0081)]

[Text] Lee Iaccoca is no stranger to us. *The Autobiography of Lee Iaccoca*, which has achieved popularity worldwide, is well-received by entrepreneurs, while *If I Were the President* is highly praised by those who are not in important positions but are interested in policy matters. Although these are popular titles, they are by no means in short supply and can be bought without having to pull strings. If you have already started tightening your belt and practicing austerity, perhaps you will benefit from reading these two books.

Iaccoca had seen better days as general manager of Ford, earning a million dollars a year. However, he has also led an austere life. As general manager of Chrysler, his annual income was a mere \$10,000. At that time, auto sales of his company were sluggish. The company's factories were in a state of semi-suspension, and the number of workers was halved. With a dire shortage of funds and mounting debts, the company was on the brink of bankruptcy. Iaccoca was given the top post at a critical time. In order to make all the company's staff share weal and woe and tide over difficulties together, he decided first of all to cut the salary of the top management, slashing his own annual salary to \$10,000. When the blue-collar workers saw that the white-collar staff were taking the lead in the practice of austerity, they were all inspired. Through their cooperation, Chrysler was brought back to life. This legendary experience made Iaccoca a household name in the United States, so much so that Bush considered Iaccoca his only real rival in the race for the presidency. But Iaccoca did not run, or it would be anyone's guess who would be in the White House today.

As I have no brains for economics and am not politically ambitious, I have little interest in "the way to production and management" and *If I Were the President* written by Mr. Iaccoca, but as a citizen who has begun to lead a life of austerity, I am quite touched by Mr. Iaccoco's disdain for money at a moment of crisis. Iaccoca said that "leadership implies setting a role model. If everyone shares weal and woe, the capacity to bear hardship will be increased." When asked the "secret" to his bringing the company back to life, his answer was "equal sacrifice."

We Chinese have always been known for our ability to bear hardship, and we have never ceased to amaze the world by the spirit of sacrifice shown at critical moments. Generalized by folk philosophers, the idea of "when the big river is down, the tributaries will dry up" is sufficient proof of the lofty spirit shown by the ordinary masses in handling the relations between the state and the individual. Imbued with this spirit, the masses will start tightening their belts before they are actually hit by hardships. They will not buy anything

unnecessary or eat when they do not have to. They tighten their purse strings and cut expenses wherever possible. To the majority with a "limited income," this is the most they can do.

However, the strong contrast in reality is rather disheartening. To say nothing about the too-sumptuous office buildings, auditoriums, hotels, and nonproductive projects, or imported cars and cigarettes, the phenomena that are occurring around us are perplexing enough. We see people leading a life of indulgence while others are hard pressed, people loosening their purse strings while others are tightening their belts. There are all kinds of "appropriate adaptations": If dining in restaurants at public expense is forbidden, how about ordering take-outs and eating at home? If prescribing royal jellies for patients is forbidden, how about prescribing American ginseng in capsules? If allowing direct relatives to set up companies is forbidden, how about distant relatives? You lead your life of austerity while I lead my life of affluence. What can you do anyway?

Practicing austerity is a task for the whole nation. Sharing weal and woe is not a high-sounding slogan. It implies that the right to share weal and the obligation to share woe are equally important. If there are "special circumstances" that merit exceptions, people's faith and determination in the practice of austerity will be adversely affected. Applied today, Iaccoca's idea of "equal sacrifice" means that everyone is equal before austerity and that no privileged citizen will be tolerated.

Old Horses Can Be Counted On

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[Article by Zhai Xiaoming (5049 1420 2494)]

[Text] I am going to say something about old horses in the spring of 1990, but not because "it is fitting to talk about horses in the Year of the Horse." On the contrary, my thoughts are touched off by how old horses are left out in the cold. Long before the Year of the Horse, people have been talking about horses with great interest. There were people calling for the service of "winged steeds"; people demanding that "nags" be exonerated; and people demanding that judges of horse flesh be disqualified and that a "diversified horse-judging mechanism" be established. There were even people who stepped forward to protect horses, shouting "Hey you, drop your whip." For a while, the scene was bustling with excitement. Despite the excitement, however, there were very few comments on old horses. Be they piebald horses, famous steeds, nags, or humpbacked horses, they will all grow old one day. Since there are old horses in this world, there is no harm discussing them.

"Old horses can be counted on" is an old saying. We owe this brilliant invention to Guan Zhong [4619 0112]. As recorded in the book *Han Feizi*, Xiaobai, the Duke Huan of the State of Qi and one of the five contending warlords during the Spring and Autumn period, led an army on a

northern expedition to Guzhu (today's Liaoning and Chaoyang) in springtime. Winter came and they discovered that they had lost their way. The duke and his generals were at their wit's end. Guan Zhong thought of old horses and said, "Old horses can be counted on." Hence, they let loose their old horses and followed them home. Had it not been for the wisdom of old horses, heaven only knows where the Qi fighters would end up.

Old horses defy difficulties climbing mountains, treading water, and galloping in the battlefields. Even in their old age, they still have plenty of spirit and ambition. Dedicated as ever, they want to continue their service to mankind. "Knowing that the day is almost done, we must gallop still faster." This aptly describes the spirit of old horses. However, old horses are getting along in years. They are losing their teeth, and their stamina is not as it was before. This is a natural process that no one can resist. Hence, in order to bring the role of old horses into play, we have to take these words of advice from the poet Du Fu [2629 3940]: "The ancient practice of preserving old horses is not to make them run long distances." The main thing is to bring out the wisdom of old horses.

The long suit of old horses is that they are rich in experience and know the way. This is determined by their very nature and characteristics. It is by no means accidental that they know their way. Scientific studies show that horses have very sharp hearing and smelling senses as well as a very strong memory. Since old horses

have covered tens of thousands of miles, experienced all kinds of dangers and hardships, traveled long distances, and crossed many bridges, they have developed a resolute and steadfast temperament and accumulated rich knowledge and experience. Hence, they are not only immensely useful in helping people tide over difficulties and showing the way, but can be of much help in bringing up little ponies.

Little ponies depend on old horses for their guidance and support, and it is the responsibility of old horses to help little horses set the course right and walk properly. When little ponies and steeds can walk well and gallop fast, old horses are happy and rest assured. When little ponies lose their way, old horses have to step forward to help overcome their difficulties and point out the way, so the little ponies will not trip and fall. Although old horses have passed on their saddles and flaps to the little ponies and steeds, it does not mean that they will have nothing more to do with the latter. An enlightened old horse is one that cares for and encourages little ponies, passes on its knowledge and experience to them, and helps them grow up and surpass the older generation. If it grieves and feels distracted thinking that the young ones have robbed it of its job, it will be ridiculed as "the jaded horse reluctant to part with its load." On the question of bringing up of little ponies, I think we do not have to worry too much about their place of birth or color, or whether they are male or female. Mongolia produces fine horses, but so does the interior. Male horses can pull carts, but female horses can also "shoulder half the sky."